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HISTORY OF GLASGOW

VOLUME II

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VOLUME III

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HISTORY OF GLASGOW

VOLUME III

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE
PASSING OF THE REFORM ACTS

1832-33

BY

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AND TRADITIONS," ETC.

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PREFACE

THIS is the third volume of the *History of Glasgow*, produced under the aegis of the Corporation of the city in pursuance of their resolution of 6th September, 1917. The three volumes cover the period from the earliest times to the passing of the Reform Acts of 1832 and 1833 and afford a detailed account of the origin and development of burghal life in Scotland. The first volume dealt with the burgh as a possession of the bishopric. The second volume, covering the period between the Reformation and the Revolution, detailed the change from an ecclesiastical dependency to a trading community. The third volume tells the story of the free burgh and the men who, during nearly a century and a half, by their genius and energy, built up its fortunes and reputation and made Glasgow one of the great cities of the world.

Of these men the present volume takes particular account. There is tragedy in the fact that so few of these makers of prosperity have representatives in the community to-day. We still have a Speirs of Elderslie, an Oswald of Auchencruive, a Buchanan of Drumpellier, and a few more. But of Walter Gibson of Balgray and Balshagrie, John Anderson of Dowhill, William Macdowall of Castle Semple, Allan Dreghorn of Ruchill, Patrick Colquhoun of Kelvingrove, and a score of others, hardly more than a memory now remains. Each of them gave notable service in his time, and in each case the story of endeavour and achievement, and sometimes, alas, of ultimate catastrophe, forms a human document of real and permanent interest.

In those years the story of Glasgow was not the story of Glasgow alone. The city played its part stoutly in the general affairs of the kingdom. From the first it supported strongly the Revolution Settlement and the House of Hanover. Its fortunes were deeply involved in events like the Darien Expedition and the revolt of the American colonies. Its development of the steam engine and the steam ship contributed more than anything else to the making of modern Britain. And if its contribution, by riot and mass meeting, to the passing of the Reform Acts was not entirely a matter to be proud of, that contribution affords a typical illustration of the spirit of the time.

It was long a popular and plausible complaint that history dealt too exclusively with matters of battles, dynasties, and statecraft, and too little with the life, actions, and achievements of ordinary folk. To that reproach the annals of Glasgow go a long way to provide an answer. The records of the Town Council itself, which furnish the main source of information for the narrative contained in this volume, afford a close and intimate picture of burgess life in Scotland in the eighteenth century. Full use has also been made in these pages of side-lights furnished by such works as Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, Henry Grey Graham's *Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, and *The Social and Industrial History of Scotland*, by Professor James Mackinnon, as well as the colourful descriptions of such first-hand recorders as Daniel Defoe, "Jupiter" Carlyle, James Strang, the author of *Glasgow and its Clubs*, and Senex, author of *Glasgow Past and Present*. From such materials an impression may be got, in fairly abundant detail, of the character, habits, and circumstances of the burgess life of the period.

For valuable suggestions, elucidations, and information the writer has been indebted to a number of friends, notably to Mr. A. C. Scott, Town-Clerk Depute and Keeper of the Sasines ;

to ex-Bailie Ninian MacWhannell ; and to Dr. Harry Lumsden, Clerk to the Trades House, whose scholarly edition of the Trades House records forms the most recent addition to the printed materials of Glasgow's history. Most especially must be acknowledged the interest and extreme kindness of the Town Clerk, Mr. David Stenhouse, whose careful reading of the whole work, as it passed through the press, has been of the utmost value. To these gentlemen I tender my most grateful thanks.

GEORGE EYRE-TODD.

AUCHENLARICH, *16th April*, 1934.

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HISTORY OF GLASGOW

CHAPTER I

AFTER THE REVOLUTION : GLASGOW A FREE BURGH

WHEN, in the last days of 1688, James VII and II fled to France, and his elder daughter Mary and his nephew William of Orange seated themselves on the throne, considerable disturbance took place in Scotland. On the two previous occasions when revolution was in the air Glasgow had been the centre of events. The General Assembly of 1638, which abolished Episcopacy and began the uprising against Charles I, was held in Glasgow Cathedral; and the meeting of the Privy Council in 1662, which enforced acknowledgment of the bishops, and "outed" some three hundred and fifty ministers who would not conform to the law, took place in the fore hall of Glasgow College. When, at the Revolution, the process was once again reversed, and the Covenanters and Presbyterians became the dominant party, the Parliament House in Edinburgh was the headquarters of action. Nevertheless, Glasgow, as the headquarters of the west country, which was the stronghold of the Covenant, became the scene of significant happenings.

The signal was given when the declaration of the Prince of Orange of 10th October, 1688, was proclaimed at Glasgow, Irvine, Ayr, and other western burghs. A few weeks afterwards, on 30th November, the young Earl of Loudoun and other students of Glasgow University burned the effigies of the Pope and

the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow without opposition.¹ Ten days later the serious riot occurred in Edinburgh, when the mob stormed Holyroodhouse, killed fourteen soldiers of the garrison, and plundered and destroyed the Abbey chapel, which had been refitted for Roman Catholic services by King James.² From Christmas onwards there was constant mob action against the Episcopal clergy, and this lawlessness was chiefly conspicuous in the western parts of the country, where the popular feeling could be most easily inflamed against the "curates," as the parish ministers were nicknamed, who had conformed to the law and accepted ordination by the bishops. Some three hundred of these ministers were "rabbed out," often with circumstances of great cruelty.³ Several of the acts which took place in Glasgow and its neighbourhood are detailed in two letters by the Rev. John Sage, one of the ministers of the city at the time.⁴ Mr. Russell, minister of Govan, was assaulted in his own house by a number of men, who cruelly beat his wife and daughter, carried off the poor's box, and threatened him with more severe treatment if he ever preached in the parish church again. A similar party attacked the manse of Cathcart. Mr. Finnie, the minister, was from home, but they thrust his wife, with her four or five young children out of the house, threw out all the furniture, and only after much entreaty allowed her and her children to shelter from the inclemency of the weather in an outhouse. The same outrage was perpetrated upon Mr. Boyd, the minister of Carmunnock, and his family, as also on Mr. Milne, minister of Cadder, to the north of the city. Mrs. Ross, wife of the minister of Renfrew, was expelled from her house, with her infant only three days old; and in the absence of Mr. Stirling, minister of Baldernock, a party of

¹ Wodrow, iv. 472.

² *Ibid.* 474.

³ Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, iii. 6.

⁴ Sage was appointed by the Town Council 23rd August, 1684. See *Hist. Glasg.* ii. 402.

armed Cameronians surrounded his manse, declared to his wife that they would "cut off her Popish nose," and with most indecent language put her and her servants in terror for their lives. Similar treatment was meted out to the minister of the Barony parish, and within the city itself the clergy with their wives and children were placed in the utmost hazard.⁵ A mob of zealots even broke into the Cathedral itself during service, assaulted the magistrates and congregation, and wounded a number of persons.

The Quakers in Glasgow were also subjected to the roughest hooliganism. In their petition to the Privy Council they remarked that "it was matter of surprise that those who had complained most" of oppression under King James "should now be found acting the parts of their own persecutors against the petitioners [the Quakers]." In Glasgow "their usage had been liker French dragoons' usage, and furious rabbling than anything that dare own the title of Christianity." That usage included "beating, stoning, dragging, and the like, from the rabble." Even the magistrates, they complained, connived at the outrage. On 12th November, "being met together in their hired house for no other end under heaven than to wait upon and worship their God," a company of Presbyterian church elders, "attended with the rude rabble of the town, haled them to James Sloss, bailie, who, for no other cause than their said meeting, dragged them to prison, where some of them were kept the space of eight days." Meanwhile their meeting house was plundered and the seats were carried off.⁶

Many of the ministers in the West of Scotland were still worse treated. The minister of Kilmarnock was kept exposed to the winter cold for several hours without covering, while his

⁵ *An Account of the Persecution of the Church in Scotland and The Case of the Present Afflicted Clergy in Scotland*, quoted in the *History of the Scottish Episcopal Church from the Revolution to the Present Time*, by John Parker Lawson, M.A., pp. 66, 89.

⁶ *Reg. Priv. Coun.* ; *Chambers's Domestic Annals*, iii. 58.

beadle was made to tear his gown to pieces from his shoulders, and his Book of Common Prayer, as a work "full of superstition and idolatry," was burned in the market place. The minister of Ballantrae was struck in the face with the butt of a musket and thrust at with a sword, while his wife, then in a delicate condition, was rudely assaulted. The minister of Kells was tied almost naked to a cart in the market place at four in the morning, and would have perished but for the kindness of a poor woman. The family of the minister of Keir were expelled from their house, and the furniture thrown after them, though three of the children were dangerously ill. Two of them died in consequence. And the minister of Kilpatrick Easter was struck and abused, had his furniture smashed, and was thrust out of doors with his family.⁷

That the ministers of the Glasgow churches were not even worse treated by the "rabblers" was due partly perhaps to the fact that there was a strong military force in the city at the time. One of the last acts of the Government of James VII. had been to accept the offer of the magistrates of Glasgow to raise ten companies of a hundred and twenty men each, "for the service of the King and securing the peace of the city," and the appointment of officers and raising of the companies had been immediately proceeded with.⁸ Three months later this Glasgow regiment, probably as a result of the Revolution then taking place, refused to obey the magistrates, who thereupon ordered its disbandment. At the same time, however, they appointed a town guard of sixty men, to go on duty nightly "for preventing of stealling and accidentall fyre."⁹

⁷ *Domestic Annals*, iii. 67, 68.

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 13th and 16th Oct., 1688. Among the captains of companies was the Provost, Walter Gibson, famous as the originator of the red herring industry, and John Walkinshaw, younger of Barrowfield, who, with his youngest daughter, Clementina, was afterwards to play a conspicuous part in Jacobite history.

⁹ *Ibid.* 23rd Jan., 1689.

Two months later still, on 22nd March, 1689, by order of Parliament, one of the magistrates, John Anderson of Dowhill, brought from Stirling Castle to Glasgow four thousand muskets, one thousand picks, a hundred barrels of powder, "with match and bandoliers conform," and a hundred chests of ball. These were lodged in the Tolbooth, and the Dean of Guild was ordered, in case of necessity, to draw together the fencible men in the town, and keep watch and ward for the security of the citizens.¹⁰

Shortly afterwards, further to secure the keeping of the peace, the Earl of Argyll's and the Earl of Glencairn's regiments were quartered in Glasgow. Trouble presently arose with these. Their pay having fallen into arrears, they threatened to take free quarters unless the magistrates advanced the money. The demand, however, was complied with on the Earls' security, and the trouble ceased.¹

It is not generally known how near Scotland came to having its episcopal system of church government continued under William and Mary. The weight of opinion in the country was pretty evenly divided between prelacy and presbyterianism, and if the bishops of Scotland had decided promptly to support the new Government, as the majority of the English bishops did, it seems quite probable that William would have continued episcopacy as the established church of the realm, in the same way as he did in England, with liberty to dissenters to worship after their own fashion.²

But Dr. Rose, Bishop of Edinburgh, had been sent south, at news of the landing of the Prince of Orange, with an address of allegiance to King James. It was while he was on the way that the flight of James and the assumption of the government by William took place, and when the bishop had an interview

¹⁰ *Act. Parl.* ix. p. 18.

¹ *Burgh Records*, 10th Aug., 1689.

² According to Jupiter Carlyle, the Presbyterian minister of Inveresk a hundred years later, two-thirds of the people of Scotland at the Revolution were Episcopal.—*Autobiography of Alexander Carlyle*, p. 249. *Hist. Scot. Epis. Church*, pp. 45, 91, 98; *Cook's Hist. Ch. of Scot.* iii. 419, 420, 422, 432.

with the Prince, he could only respond to the latter's approach in a half-hearted fashion. When the bishop was announced William came a few steps forward from his company, and said, "My Lord, are you going for Scotland?" "Yes, Sir," replied the bishop, "if you have any commands for me." "I hope," said the Prince, "you will be kind to me, and follow the example of England." To this the bishop could only reply, "Sir, I will serve you so far as law, reason, or conscience shall allow me." Whereupon William instantly turned from the bishop in silence, and mingled with his friends, and Dr. Rose immediately retired.³

That interview probably decided the ecclesiastical destiny of Scotland. Events then followed rapidly in the Scottish settlement. On 7th January, 1690, William called all the Scottish noblemen and gentlemen in London to meet him at St. James's, and asked their advice regarding the northern kingdom. Next day they tendered an address. In consequence a convention of the Scottish Estates was summoned in Edinburgh, and on 11th April that convention offered the crown of Scotland to William and Mary, abolished episcopacy, and rescinded the forfeiture of Argyll.⁴

The tables were now effectively turned, and the Covenanters were not slow to visit upon their opponents all the rigours of which they had complained so bitterly when these were dealt out to themselves.

It is curious to note how closely history repeated itself then in Scotland within the space of a few years. Where the Governments of Charles II. and James VII. had to deal with the hostile risings of the Covenanters, backed by the country's enemies in Holland, which culminated in the battles of Rullion Green, Drumclog, Bothwell Bridge, and Ayr's Moss, and the

³ *Hist. Scot. Epis. Church*, pp. 44, 91; Stephen's *Hist. of Ch. of Scotland*, iii. 378 and on.

⁴ Wodrow, iv. 476; *Act. Parl. Scot.* ix. 37.

futile invasion by Argyll, the Government of King William had to deal with the Jacobite rising under Viscount Dundee, backed by the hoped-for support of France and Ireland, which came to a head at the battle of Killiecrankie. Almost the same measures of precaution and repression followed in each case. By King William's Government large numbers of "suspect persons" of all ranks were thrown into prison, where they were kept without trial for years in the most dreadful circumstances. The Privy Council Registers of the time are full of petitions from these unfortunate persons, praying to have the conditions of their captivity relieved. Chambers in his *Domestic Annals* recounts the cases of a number of distinguished men who were thus crowded in the miserable dungeons of Edinburgh Tolbooth and other gaols and strongholds throughout the country.⁵ Among them was Captain John Slezer, author of that interesting work, the *Theatrum Scotiae*, which contains the earliest pictures we possess of the city of Glasgow. A still more notable prisoner was the Archbishop of Glasgow, John Paterson. He had used his utmost endeavours to secure the concurrence of the bishops and the consent of Parliament to King James's wishes for the removal of the penal laws against nonjurors. But as the King's proposal was to afford liberty not only to Presbyterians, but to Independents and Roman Catholics as well, it was anathema to the Covenanters, and the Archbishop was kept a close prisoner in Edinburgh Castle for many months, without being able even to talk with his friends. He was not released till January 1693.⁶

These events brought about an opportunity for the further widening of the liberties of Glasgow. Hitherto the town had held the status of a community on the Church lands, for which the bishops and archbishops had secured the privileges, successively, of a burgh of barony, a burgh of regality, and a royal burgh. The method of appointing the provost and magistrates

⁵ Vol. iii. p. 11.

⁶ *Domestic Annals*, iii. 12.

had been for the Town Council to present to the archbishop chosen lists or leets of suitable burgesses, and for the archbishop to select from these the individuals who should act as provost and bailies, or magistrates, for the ensuing year. Two of the bailies were chosen from the merchants' guild and one from the crafts. The newly-appointed magistrates and those of the two preceding years then met, along with certain co-opted persons to fill up vacancies, and elected thirteen merchants and twelve craftsmen to be councillors for the year. The Town Council was therefore a close corporation, nominating its successors, mostly out of its own number, from Michaelmas till Michaelmas. More than once, during the seventeenth century, the king or the archbishop had broken through this arrangement, and had ordered the appointment of a provost, magistrates, and council who could be relied upon to support certain political views. King William did this now. Shortly after his accession he ordered an election of the bailies, dean of guild, treasurer, and town council by the poll of all burgesses bearing burden, "skott and lott," but excluding honorary burgesses, town's servants, pensioners, and beadsmen, or licensed beggars, the persons so elected to continue in office till the usual election period at the following Michaelmas. This election, singularly before the age in its method, duly took place on 3rd July. The magistrates and council then, perceiving the king's attitude, proceeded to turn the situation to account by asking for a valuable concession. A commission was drawn up, directing John Anderson, Younger, of Dowhill, one of the most capable members of council, to proceed to London and petition King William and Queen Mary to grant the city the free election of its own magistrates, in the same way as other royal burghs of the kingdom.⁷ Anderson proved his ability by securing from the king at Hampton Court, within a month, a preliminary letter authorising the town to choose its own

⁷ *Burgh Records*, 26th Aug., 1689.

provost and magistrates for the following year, and on the strength of this the bailies and council carried out their first free election under the new regime on 1st October, 1689. At that election Dowhill himself was chosen provost. A more formal letter of gift, secured at Kensington on 4th January following, continued the privilege through all time coming. This duly passed the Great Seal, and was confirmed by Act of Parliament on 14th June, and the first election under its authority took place on 30th September, 1690.⁸ For the carrying through of his purpose the provost spent 145 days in London, and his expenses over the business amounted to £3673 Scots.⁹

⁸ *Act. Parl. Scot.* ix. p. 153; *Burgh Records*, 30th Sept., 1690.

⁹ *Burgh Records*, 1st Feb., 1691. Particulars of the negotiations regarding the free election of magistrates are given in the *Leven and Melville Papers* (Bannatyne Club), pp. 74, 85, 86, 142-4, 237-8.

CHAPTER II

CLEARING OLD SCORES

ALTHOUGH Glasgow saw no such clash of arms within its gates at the Revolution as it had seen at the Reformation and during the risings of the Covenanters, it was conscious constantly, for a considerable time, of the ominous sough of war. During 1689 and 1690, with the coming and going of regiments, and billeting of troops on the inhabitants, it must have borne much the appearance of an armed camp. While Dundee's rising for King James threatened the peace of the country, it was evidently thought necessary to guard the western passes by which a force might descend from the Highlands into the low country. One of these passes was at Balmaha on the eastern side of Loch Lomond, not more than twenty-three miles from Glasgow itself. It was a pass to be made notorious presently by the cattle-lifting and blackmailing exploits of Rob Roy. To frustrate a descent the Government placed a garrison at the mansion of Drumikill, near Drymen. The Highlanders evidently adopted the plan of starving out the unwelcome garrison, and Captain Stewart, its commander, was forced to send a message into the city, saying he was in straits. The magistrates thereupon despatched in relief eight bolls of meal, for which, it is recorded, they paid £61 13s. 4d. Scots, with twenty-eight shillings for carriage.¹

There is mention, in the town's records, of Danish and English troops quartered in the city. £5912 Scots were dis-

¹ *Burgh Records*, 27th Sept., 1690.

tributed among citizens who had had their crops eaten and destroyed by the English forces when they lay at Glasgow in September, 1689, and for the sums these forces were owing the townspeople for meat, drink, and other requirements. £150 were paid Lieutenant William Duff to prevent his company taking free quarters among the inhabitants, and a slightly larger sum was paid to a writer in Edinburgh for raising a criminal action against certain officers and their servants in Sir James Leslie's regiment, at the instance of Elizabeth Cochrane, for the killing of her husband, John Reid, a wright. £24 Scots was paid for the loss of a horse requisitioned by one of the Danish officers to ride express to England, and never returned; and the tenants in Gorbals had to be recompensed for damage done by the Duke of Gordon's men, who "did eat and destroy the lands there." So constant were the demands for his services in billeting troops and the like, that a quartermaster was regularly employed by the magistrates, and the salary of £10 sterling was paid him yearly.²

Not least interesting is the fact that a Glasgow merchant, John Simpson, was commissioned and paid to hire four pilots at Greenock and convey them to Leith for the purpose of bringing four of King William's ships of war from that port round the north of Scotland to Londonderry in August, 1689. Londonderry had already been relieved, and the famous siege raised, on 28th July, but, though too late to help that achievement, these ships of war formed a valuable addition to the fleet which co-operated in the final overthrow of the Jacobite cause in Ireland.³

A few months later another request of similar sort, in connection with the same campaign, was sent to Glasgow. On 27th July, the day before the relief of Londonderry, King

² *Ibid.* 6th April, 23rd May and 5th Sept., 1691, 20th June and 15th Sept., 1692.

³ *Ibid.* 15th Sept., 1692.

James's general, Viscount Dundee, had fallen at Killiecrankie, in the moment of victory, and shortly afterwards the repulse of his clansmen at Dunkeld had ended for the time the Jacobite menace in Scotland. Troops could therefore be spared for the Irish war, and in the spring King William was preparing for the final effort of that campaign. The provost of Glasgow was accordingly requested to charter two vessels for two months or longer for the transport of six hundred soldiers, with their provisions. Complying with this request, two vessels were chartered from Glasgow merchants, the *Unitie*, of 150 tons, belonging to William Walkinshaw and partners, and the *James*, of 110 tons, belonging to Thomas Peter and partners. The charge was twelve shillings sterling per ton per month, and payment was to be made out of the excise duties of Glasgow itself. These vessels no doubt carried from the Clyde a contingent of the troops which fought for King William at the Battle of the Boyne.⁴

It was probably as a result of this military atmosphere that the first Volunteer movement started in the city. There had, of course, been previous offers made by the magistrates to raise troops, but it was only in May, 1692, that a number of private persons came forward with the offer to form an armed and mounted company "to ride when desired," on condition that their horses should be stabled and fed at the town's expense while on active service. The offer was duly accepted by the magistrates.⁵

A great clearing up of old scores by the Town Council naturally followed the new settlement of the crown and the abolition of the episcopal system, with the change over to a new party in the management of the town's affairs.

The first act of the new council was to take note of certain abuses consequent on the election of keepers of taverns and change-houses to be magistrates and deacon-conveners. In

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 21st April, 1690.

⁵ *Ibid.* 12th May, 1692.

order to gain favour, it appeared, poor people had been induced to spend money needlessly in these places, and had been led into debauchery and drunkenness. It was therefore enacted that no keeper of a tavern or change-house should be eligible for the post of provost, bailie, dean of guild, or deacon-convener, under a penalty of £1000 Scots.⁶

There had been trouble also with the chamberlains of Provand. By their remissions these agents had allowed the tenants of the town's lands in that property to fall into arrears of rent to the amount of £20,000. As a short and sharp cure, which was probably effective, the salaries of these chamberlains were stopped till they should secure the clearing of the accounts, and legal action was directed to be taken for the return of salaries already paid, to cover certain doubtful intromissions in the books.⁷

But the worst case of all was that of a late provost of the city, John Barnes. During his terms of office in 1683 and 1685 Barnes had scattered the town's moneys in rather questionable payments with a profuse hand, and he had borrowed large sums of money on his own account, which the magistrates and council were afterwards induced to declare a free gift for his great pains and trouble in the town's affairs.⁸ Action had been taken by the Town Council, and the case decided against Barnes in the Court of Session in 1685.⁹ These moneys the magistrates roundly named embezzlements, and called Barnes to account for their repayment. Action was taken before the Privy Council in Edinburgh. As a result Barnes was imprisoned in the Tolbooth there till he should find caution to the amount of £1000 sterling for the clearing of the charge. It was resolved also to prosecute the magistrates and town councillors who had acted with Barnes, and who had joined with such suspicious alacrity in his squandering of the town's

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 4th Oct., 1690.

⁷ *Ibid.* 5th Sept., 1690.

⁸ *Hist. Glas.* ii. 414.

⁹ *Morrison's Dictionary of Decisions*, p. 2515.

money. A request which the ex-provost made, after he had lain several months in prison, to be set free on his own bond or parole was refused, until he should give a frank account of the ways in which he had disposed of the embezzled money, and of the " fines " or burgess fees which had been paid into his hands.¹⁰ As no further notice of the matter appears, it may be supposed that Barnes was one of those who languished hopelessly in Edinburgh Tolbooth till released by death or some state amnesty.

Another considerable intromission with the city's funds was apparently at the same time abandoned as a bad debt. Since the Earl of Argyll refused to repay the 10,000 merks and £10,000 Scots borrowed by his father from the funds of Hutchesons' Hospital and the Blackfriars Kirk respectively,¹ he had himself, like that father, suffered the doom of execution and forfeiture, and although his son's title had been restored by the Scottish Parliament, it was either considered hopeless to pursue him for the debt, or undesirable to trouble the representative of a family which had suffered so severely in the cause of the political party which was now at last in power. Whatever the reason, the town clerk was instructed on 2nd June, 1690, to lay up the Marquess's bonds among the other town's papers, and Glasgow remained permanently the poorer by a substantial sum.²

But the most significant clearing of scores lay in the Town Council's dealings with the ministers of the Glasgow churches. Most of these ministers seem to have conformed to the new order, but there appears to have been considerable delay in

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 29th Mar., 2nd June, 11th Aug., 1690.

¹ *Hist. Glas.* ii. 395.

² This matter was raised again ten years later, when it was proposed to reverse the forfeiture of the Marquess of Argyll. The magistrates then agreed to be content with such sums only as might be received from the Marquess of Huntly and others of the Marquess' debtors.—*Burgh Records*, 23rd Dec., 1700.

paying the stipends of several. There is a note of settlement with half a dozen on 18th April, 1691, but there was clearly a disposition to deal more hardly with others. In their case the provost was commissioned to go to Edinburgh, and not only to defend the town against their claims before the Privy Council, but to endeavour to have the ministers themselves suspended.³ One of these last, Alexander Milne, had held a charge in Glasgow for over twenty years, but it was only at the intercession of several influential persons, who were "the toune's freinds," and upon his giving a receipt clearing the burgh of all further claims, that the magistrates agreed to pay him a thousand merks.⁴ A similar transaction took place with George Buchanan, who did not get a settlement of his stipend for 1688 till August, 1691. In consequence of the suspension or ousting of ministers a number of the pulpits seem to have been occupied for a time by temporary preachers, whose remuneration is recorded in the Town Council minutes; and between April, 1691, and March, 1692, the magistrates invited no fewer than four new ministers to serve the churches of the city. The uniform stipend offered, it is interesting to note, was £1000 Scots (£83 6s. 8d. stg.), with £80 for house rent, and the Town Council was generous in paying the cost of removing the new minister's furniture from his previous abode.

Curiously enough, while the magistrates displayed an eager anxiety to rid themselves of the obligation to submit a list of burgesses to the archbishop, or whoever came in his place as superior of the burgh, for his nomination of a provost, they were ready, without being asked, to submit a list of ministers to the Presbytery for the nomination of one of the number to fill the pulpit of a city church.⁵ What was a right grudgingly conceded in the former case was a homage willingly proffered in the latter.

³ *Ibid.* 13th and 25th April, 1691.

⁴ *Ibid.* 9th May, 1691.

⁵ *Ibid.* 16th Mar., 1691.

On the whole the treatment, by the Town Council, of the ministers of the city churches who were willing to come to terms and to conform to the new order, appears to have been not unfair. The city fathers had always shown a respectful regard for the spiritual guides of the community. John Gibson, the Glasgow historian of the eighteenth century, definitely states that their stipends were among the most generous in Scotland.⁶

None the less, the finances of the burgh were at that time giving the city fathers considerable anxiety. A bomb was burst upon the Town Council when the Dean of Guild tabled a minute of the Merchants House detailing the town's debts, and pointing out that these amounted to the large sum of £200,000. For the defraying of the debts the merchants suggested that Parliament should be asked for powers to sell the whole public goods of the town, and at the same time it was agreed to levy a duty of thirty shillings on every brewing of malt, as well as on every butt of sack and butt of brandy, and twenty-four shillings on every barrel of mum beer consumed within the burgh. Faced by the facts, the city fathers at once agreed to the measures proposed—all except the maltmen, who shrewdly saw in the suggested duties the beginning of a burden upon their trade which was destined to grow heavier from that day till this. Nor were they long in seeing their apprehensions begin to be fulfilled. No more than fifteen months later, when it was found difficult to levy cess and other public burdens by means of a direct tax, the magistrates resorted to the easy plan of increasing the duty payable upon every "masking" of malt and every tun of wine consumed within the burgh.⁷

⁶ Gibson's *Hist.* p. 130. When one of the town's ministers, Alexander Hastie, retired in 1711 on account of old age and infirmity, the Town Council made him an annual allowance of £540 Scots.—*Burgh Records*, 28th June, 1711.

⁷ *Ibid.* 8th Aug., 1689, 29th Nov., 1690.



OLD COTTAGES IN HIGH STREET, 1817.
From a water-colour drawing by Andrew Donaldson.

Another novel and rather daring device for raising money to pay the debts of the burgh was also resorted to. It had been the custom of the magistrates for many years to farm out the various sources of revenue of the burgh, such as the toll at the bridge and the dues at the weigh-house or tron, to individual renters for an annual payment. The Town Council now set out to become themselves farmers of revenue on a larger scale for behoof of the town. Among various innovations the new Government had proceeded to impose excise duties for the purpose of securing a regular revenue, throughout the country. In the levying of these duties the ingenious city fathers of Glasgow saw an opportunity, and proceeded to introduce themselves as middlemen. They took a lease for two years, at a fixed rent of £65,000 Scots yearly, of the inland excise duties of the shires of Lanark, Ayr, Renfrew, Bute, Dunbarton, and Stirling. They did not actually levy the duties themselves, but proceeded to farm out the several shires to third parties, with the idea of securing a profit by the enterprise. But, while a profit of a thousand pounds Scots and three guineas yearly was made out of sub-letting the excise of Stirlingshire, the duties of the shires of Renfrew, Bute, and Dunbarton, let to Thomas Crawford, younger of Cartsburn, produced no more than the sum paid for them, and there appears to have been some difficulty in securing a party to take over the duties of Ayrshire and Lanarkshire. On the whole the adventure does not appear to have proved so successful or profitable as to tempt the magistrates to repeat it.⁸

More promising, as a means of raising money, was a proposal to sell the lands of Provan, lying to the north and east of the city. These lands had contributed the revenue for one of the ancient prebendaries of the Cathedral, and had been possessed by King James IV. himself when he served as "Canon of Balernock and Laird of Provan." For many years before

⁸ *Ibid.* 14th Dec., 1689.

the Reformation members of the Baillie family had held the prebend, and in 1565 its two thousand and odd acres were granted by Queen Mary to Sir William Baillie, President of the College of Justice. By the marriage of Elizabeth Baillie, the "Air of Provan," the property passed to Hamilton of Silvertonhill, and in 1667 it was acquired from Sir Robert Hamilton, grandson of that pair, by the magistrates and town council of Glasgow.⁹ We have just seen that the magistrates were finding difficulty in collecting the rents of the estate, which were in arrears to the extent of some £1600 sterling. They apparently therefore entertained the idea of selling the property.¹⁰ The Duke of Hamilton made an offer to purchase the land, including the arrears of rent, for 100,000 merks (£5554 14s. 3d. stg.), and the town council agreed to accept the offer.¹ But an agreement had already been made to dispose of the lands to William Govan of Drumquhassle, and as he apparently declined to forego his bargain, it was concluded to hand them over to that individual for a payment of 77,000 merks and an annual feu-duty of 1000 merks, which, capitalised at twenty-six years' purchase, would make the price 103,000 merks—3000 merks more than were offered by the Duke.² The whole transaction

⁹ *Burgh Records*, 2nd May, 1668. Lugton's *Old Lodgings of Glasgow*, pp. 35, 37, 41; *Charters and Documents*, ii. 350.

¹⁰ The Commissioners appointed in 1835 to enquire into the state of the municipal corporations in Scotland animadverted on this transaction. "Permission," they stated, "was, in 1691, given to the Corporation of Glasgow, by the Convention of Royal Burghs, to sell lands of great value, because heavy burdens had been 'occasioned by the vast sums that have been borrowed by the late magistrates, and the misapplying and dilapidation of the town's patrimony, in suffering their debts to swell, and employing their common store for their own sinister ends and uses.' These lands were accordingly sold, avowedly in consequence of the malversation of the magistrates. Had this not happened, the burgh would now, in addition to its present estate, have been in the possession of lands worth from £100,000 to £150,000—a sum sufficient to have relieved the inhabitants of almost all the burghal taxes that now press on them."—*Report*, p. 31.

¹ *Burgh Records*, 25th April, 1691.

² *Ibid.* 15th May, 1691.

seems to have been badly managed, however, and to have come to nothing, for in the following year the lands were leased to three other parties, George Buchanan, maltman ; Robert Buchanan, baxter ; and Thomas Hamilton, maltman, for eleven years, at a rent of 5400 merks yearly³ From that time the details of management of the estate, houses and lands, were a constant care and anxiety to the magistrates, who had to defend their property from dilapidations and encroachments, to straighten marches, drain bogs, compensate improvements, etc. It was not till thirty-eight years later that the great estate was finally disposed of by feuing, the price being fixed at twenty-six years' purchase after the deduction of teind, and an annual feu-duty of one-third of the rent.⁴ The proceeds were then wisely directed by the magistrates to be used entirely for the payment of the town's debts. The superiorities of Provan were finally themselves sold in 1777.⁵

³ *Ibid.* 20th June, 1692.

⁴ *Ibid.* 19th Aug., 1729, 1st May, 1733. See *infra*, p. 147.

⁵ *Regality Club*, 3rd Series, p. 12.

CHAPTER III

JOHN ANDERSON, YOUNGER, OF DOWHILL

THE most active and capable of the managers of the civic affairs in the latter years of the seventeenth century has hardly till now received the attention which his services and somewhat dramatic career seem to deserve. The Andersons of Dowhill were merchants whose family estate lay close to the burgh boundary on the east. They represented the Andersons of Stobcross, who held that property on Clydeside as rentallers under the Archbishop as early as 1545.¹ The Dowhill, or Dewhill, is mentioned in the twelfth-century Life of St. Mungo as a favourite resort of that holy man. It rose beyond the Molendinar, on the line of the present Gallowgate, and was the site, in the feudal centuries, of a fane known as Little St. Mungo's Kirk. In the middle of the eighteenth century it became the site of the famous Saracen Head Inn. Dowhill estate extended from the Molendinar eastward to the Butts, and from the Gallowgate northward to the College grounds. The Andersons of Dowhill come into the limelight of Glasgow history as men of substance in the years following the Restoration of Charles II. McUre, the earliest Glasgow historian, says they were the first to import cherry sack direct to Glasgow. That delicacy had previously been procured only through Leith and Edinburgh. In 1663 and again in 1665, probably to preserve the amenities of his own estate adjoining, John Anderson, elder, took a lease of the grass of Little St. Mungo's Kirkyard at the rent of a rix-dollar.

¹ Mitchell, *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 179; Senex, *Old Glasgow*, p. 16.

His position as a man of substance is shown by the fact that in 1665 he advanced considerable sums for the purchase of land by the town. Among his other enterprises he was a partner with Sir George Maxwell in the famous Whalefishing Company of 1667.² He was provost in 1655 and again in 1667, and it was under his guidance that in the latter year the burgh acquired the great estate of Provan from Sir Robert Hamilton of Silvertonhill. Among his possessions the laird of Dowhill owned a tenement in the Saltmarket, which was destroyed in the great fire of 1677. In rebuilding it two years later he availed himself of the subsidy, amounting to £1507 Scots, offered by the magistrates, and when a dispute occurred between him and his neighbour regarding a mutual gable, the magistrates built the gable and deducted the cost from their subsidy.³ More was to be heard of this tenement at a later date. In his latter days the fortunes of this worthy man seem to have suffered something like eclipse, for in 1684 he was reduced to supplicate the Town Council, in view of his heavy loss by the fire, the decay of trade, and "the ill condition he was in," to forgive him a debt of £370. This they duly did.

But much more notable than John Anderson, elder, was John Anderson, younger, of Dowhill. There are records of his disbursing sums for the town's purposes in 1665 and 1666. When the magistrates were looking for a location for a new harbour on the firth in 1667 he was commissioned to go to Greenock with the provost and the deacon-convener to settle the purchase of the lands of Kilburnie. He was chosen a bailie in 1666 and in 1683, and in 1669 he was elected Dean of Guild. In the following year he was sent to London to endeavour to secure for the burgh from Charles II. the free election of its own magistrates, as well as the rights of the bailiary and barony of Glasgow, with liberty to spend what he pleased in

² Cleland's *Annals*, ii. 367.

³ *Burgh Records* of dates named; *Regality Club Transactions*, i. 1-7.

the enterprise. And in 1677, after the great fire, he was one of the commission sent to Edinburgh to secure help from the Privy Council for the rebuilding of the town. But his greatest triumph was his mission to London in 1689 already described, in which he obtained from King William that right of free election of the provost and magistrates which had been coveted by Glasgow since the Reformation. His success on that occasion was probably helped by the fact that he was of the party which supported the Revolution. He had suffered for his views in 1671 when his leet for the election of magistrates was rejected, and in 1674, when his complaint on the subject was over-ruled, and he was excluded from the council for refusing to take the Declaration. Also, during the provostship of the notorious John Barnes in 1685, he had been deposed from the town council for non-attendance at its meetings.

In recognition of his success in London, Dowhill was appointed Commissioner to the meeting of the Estates—in other words the burgh's member of Parliament, in August, 1689, and was elected Provost in October.

He was appointed to the office of chief magistrate no fewer than four times,⁴ and during his terms of office and out of them did much notable service to the city. Among the acts of his provostship was the vindication of the rights of certain incorporations of trades. In particular the Incorporation of Surgeons secured a decision which carried them a long way towards the position which safeguards the public against the imposition of unqualified practitioners at the present day. In 1679 the Town Council, without the consent of the Surgeons' Incorporation, had granted permission to a Mr. Henry Marshall to practise as a surgeon in the burgh. Now, twelve years later, in their appeal to the magistrates, the Faculty cited the grant by King James VI. in 1599, empowering them to make rules for the

⁴ The provost's term of office was then two years. Anderson was elected in 1689, 1695, 1699, and 1703.

admission of members, and the exclusion of unqualified persons. In the case of a dearth of practitioners the magistrates had power to invite a surgeon to settle in the city, but he must pay the usual burgess fee and pass the professional tests of the Faculty. Marshall, though from his title of "Mr.," evidently a university graduate, had not apparently fulfilled these requirements, and the Faculty demanded the withdrawal of the licence granted him by the magistrates. With this demand Provost Anderson, with his bailies and council, complied. The licence was withdrawn. At the same time the Incorporation of Surgeons was earnestly desired to use Marshall "civillie and discreetlie," as, it may be hoped, they did.⁵

In similar fashion the Incorporation of Coopers complained of infringement of their privileges. Their rule was that no piece of cooper-work should be brought into the burgh by an outsider, and exposed for sale, without being submitted to the deacon and other masters of the craft. If it failed to meet their approval as an efficient piece of work it was subject to immediate confiscation by the magistrates, and its "inbringer" was liable to fine and other punishment. In defiance of this rule, it appears, several persons had gone out of the town to have cooper-work made and repaired, and had brought it back for use without due submission. There were evidently coopers outside the town, who were doing the work more cheaply than the Glasgow craftsmen, and the latter, seeing their monopoly in danger, demanded that the prices should be those fixed by their own deacon. They also demanded that the coopers working at Port-Glasgow in the time of the fishing should, like the craftsmen in Glasgow itself, be required to subscribe twopence Scots weekly to a benevolent fund, half to be used for their own poor and the other half to be remitted for the poor of the craft in the city. A further complaint was that the coopers of Gorbals had "forestalled" the market by buying rungs,

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 9th May, 1691.

staves, and splits in wholesale quantities without these being first exposed for public sale. This they demanded should be forbidden under a penalty of ten merks each upon buyer and seller for every offence. This petition also was granted, after due consideration, by Provost Anderson and his council. They placed it on record that they thought the demands "reasonable and just," a verdict which would seem to show that the exclusive policy of trade unions at the present day is not so modern as some people may imagine.⁶

Two criminal events which occurred in Glasgow in his time show the character of Provost Anderson of Dowhill in another interesting light. A certain James Peadie was provost when the former of these took place. By some action which does not transpire, Peadie had given offence to Robert Brock, a goldsmith and former bailie of the town, and in consequence, in the house of a certain widow, and in the presence of the provost and several other persons, Brock had told the provost exactly what he thought of him. The opinion appears to have been expressed in somewhat lurid language—"In manifest contempt of their Majesties authoritie, represented in the magistrates, and without all regard to his burges oath, without all fear of God," he did "revile, slander, and defame the said James Peadie, proveist, by calling him ane villaine, ane rascall, ane cheat, ane knave, void of all religion and fear of God, ane wolfe in sheepes cloathing, and that he had bein the cause of ruine to the said Robert Brock and his familie." Brock had gone even further, and declared that the provost had hazarded the ruin of his soul by bringing him to take the name of God in vain, a thing which he had not done for four years past, till provoked to do so by Peadie.

At that time it was a serious matter to shew discourtesy to a magistrate. Even to fail in raising the bonnet to a bailie when passing him in the street might involve unpleasant con-

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 15th May, 1691.

sequences. The outrageous behaviour of Brock therefore was made the subject of formal trial before two of the magistrates. The goldsmith was duly summoned at his own house and by the "crying" of "three severall oyesses" at the market cross, and afterwards from the top of the Tolbooth stair; but he failed to appear, and the trial went on without him. Three respectable witnesses, duly sworn and "purged of partiall counsell," testified against him. The two first agreed without hesitation to every point made against the accused, and rather revelled in repeating his most opprobrious words. The third witness was Anderson of Dowhill, and his evidence was in notable contrast. He weighed his words, testified only to the exact expressions he had himself heard, and reduced a charge of threatening to assault to the mere shaking of his staff in defiance by the accused man.

In the upshot the charge was found fully proven. Brock was fined five hundred merks, deprived of his rights as a burgess and guild brother, and ordered to be detained in prison till he should pay the fine.⁷ He evidently, however, made his peace afterwards with the magistrates, for he frequently in later years was employed on jeweller's work by them.

The incident illustrates not only the custom and attitude of mind of the time, but the calm judicial temper of John Anderson of Dowhill.

The second occurrence of the kind in which Dowhill played a part was much more serious. It arose out of nothing less than the murder of the Town Clerk. The facts of the tragedy were dramatic enough. A certain Major Menzies, commanding Lord Lindsay's regiment, then quartered in Glasgow, had seized and imprisoned several burgesses on the plea that they were deserters. On complaint being made, the magistrates desired the Major to bring the accused persons before them for trial. This he absolutely refused to do. A conference was then

⁷ *Ibid.* 14th Aug., 1693.

arranged, at which the provost, two of the bailies, and the Town-Clerk, Mr. Robert Park, met Major Menzies and three of his captains in the Town Clerk's office. In the course of the discussion a dispute arose. Menzies struck the Town Clerk with his cane, and, the latter springing to his feet, there was a struggle. The two were separated by the company, then, while the Town Clerk was being held by Captain Jarvis, the Major drew his sword and ran him through the body, so that he died instantly. Menzies then marched off, sword in hand, to the guard-house, called out his men, drew them up, with loaded muskets three files deep across the street, and set them to guard the passes, while he mounted his horse and escaped.⁸

One of the Lords of the Privy Council, Mr. Francis Montgomery, who happened to be at hand, forthwith ordered such of the inhabitants as could soonest get ready to pursue and apprehend the murderer. In obedience to this order John Anderson, of Dowhill, with Robert Stevenson, glazier, and John Gillespie, a tailor and burgess, set forth, and came upon the Major, skulking in a garden at Rainfield, near the site of the present Constitutional Club.⁹ They charged him with the murder, and desired him to yield himself prisoner, but he refused, and came at them with a drawn sword. In the emergency of the moment a shot was fired, and Menzies fell dead.

In consequence of this unfortunate affair the three pursuers were tried for murder in the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh. The fatal shot had apparently been fired by Gillespie, and part of the charge against the three was that Menzies had offered to surrender. The Town Council, however, sent three of its magistrates to witness for the defence, and the Court found the prisoners' defence sufficient and discharged them from the

⁸ The large round table at which the Town Clerk was sitting when this tragic event took place is now in the refectory room of the South Court at the Judiciary Buildings in Jocelyn Square.

⁹ J. O. Mitchell, *Regality Club Papers*, i. 3.

bar.¹⁰ The town's expenses in connection with the trial, in which no fewer than seventy-four witnesses were retained, amounted to £3540 os. 4d. Scots. The fees to advocates, clerks of justiciary and macers came to £1027 5s. 4d.¹

¹⁰ *Collection of Trials* by Hugo Arnot, pp. 163-9; *Burgh Records*, 2nd Nov., 1694.

¹ *Burgh Records*, 23rd Feb., 1695.

CHAPTER IV

THE DARIEN EXPEDITION

ANDERSON was again chosen Provost in October, 1695, and it was while he held the office, and probably largely at his suggestion, that the burgh took part in a great national undertaking whose prospects were as promising as its dénouement was disastrous.

It was a time of mighty financial schemes, in which two Scotsmen played conspicuous rôles. In France John Law of Lauriston, having fled from England to escape the consequences of his fatal duel with Beau Wilson, established the Banque Générale, floated the great Mississippi Scheme, was appointed Controller General of the Finances, and after stirring the whole nation to a frenzy of speculation with his golden projects, saw the glittering fabric crash to ruin, and fled to Venice from the fury of the people, with a single diamond for his sole possession. In England the South Sea Company had a similar origin. Started by Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, as a means of extinguishing the floating National Debt, then amounting to £10,000,000, it was granted a monopoly of trading in the South Seas, and the dazzling dreams of wealth awaiting exploitation in South America brought about a furore of speculation in the shares, till these rose from £100 to £1000. But all the trading that the Company did was the sending of one ship on a single voyage, and when the inevitable crash came thousands were reduced to utter ruin.¹

¹ A very full account of both the Mississippi scheme and the South Sea Company is given in *Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions*, vol. i., by Charles Mackay, LL.D.

Both of these schemes appear to have been inspired by the earlier enterprise of William Paterson, a native of Dumfriesshire. After founding the Bank of England, of which he became a director in 1694, he withdrew in 1695, in the opinion that the bank's operations were too narrow in scope. An enterprise just then being started in Scotland seemed to offer much greater possibilities. Two Edinburgh merchants, James Balfour and Bailie Robert Blackwood, were floating a great mercantile project, "The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies." In this project Paterson's genius saw the possibility of a great national achievement. He joined the company, and forthwith turned its energies in a still more promising direction, which was neither Indian nor African. His idea was perfectly sound—to plant on the Isthmus of Darien a colony, which should form the entrepôt of trade for two oceans and two continents.

The enterprise offered to Scottish merchants an outlet unhampered by the English navigation law, which decreed that trade with English ports and colonies must be carried on only in English ships. The Company was established by Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1695, and was granted a monopoly of the trade of Asia, Africa, and America for thirty-two years. The scheme at once became popular. From motives of patriotism not less than from motives of gain, nobility, gentry, merchants, burghs, and public bodies all hastened to take shares. £400,000, half the wealth of Scotland, were subscribed, though only £220,000 were actually paid up.

Of that amount quite a considerable portion came from Glasgow. By a special Act of Parliament Royal Burghs were empowered to invest money in the enterprise, and on 5th March, 1696, the Magistrates and Town Council, "taking to their consideration that the company of this nation for trading to Africa and the Indies . . . seems to be very promising, and apparently may tend to the honour and profit of the Kingdom,

and particularly to the great advantage of this Burgh to share therein . . . therefore . . . with consent of the merchants and trades, their respective houses (previously convened for giving advice in the said matter) do resolve and conclude to stock in and adventure for this Burgh and common good thereof . . . the sum of three thousand pounds sterling money." The city fathers further "commissionat, appoint, and give full power to John Anderson of Dowhill, provost, to subscriye the said company, their books of subscription, for the said sum."² Following the example of the Town Council, many Glasgow merchants and other citizens also took up stock, and altogether £56,000 sterling were subscribed in the city. Among the private subscribers, Anderson himself took £1000 of stock. The Town Council took a lead in appointing members of the committee of management of the Company, and commissioned Provost Anderson to submit the names of Glasgow holders of stock for election to the board of fifty directors. They further appointed Anderson himself to represent the Town Council on that board.³

Even the wisdom of the University was tempted to speculate in the great enterprise. On the advice of Principal Dunlop it took shares to the amount of a thousand pounds. Dunlop himself invested a similar sum, while three of the regents ventured a hundred pounds each. The Principal's support was recognized by his appointment as a director.⁴

Evidently Anderson did his best to secure that the expedition should sail from the Clyde, for he spent £89 16s. 10d. "in going with Mr. Paterson to view the river." Meanwhile the Company acted as a bank, lending out its spare capital at reasonable interest, and Glasgow borrowed £500 sterling for the purpose of paying off debt."⁵

² *Burgh Records* under date.

³ *Ibid.* 28th March, 25th April and 16th May, 1696.

⁴ Coutts, *History of the University*, p. 183.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 4th July and 5th Oct., 1696. The Company offered to lend members two-thirds of their paid-up stock.

Delay was caused by the jealous clamour of the English trading corporations, which secured the disapproval of the English Parliament and the disfavour of King William towards the scheme, with the withdrawal of most of the English and Dutch subscriptions, amounting to £300,000 and £200,000 respectively. But on 25th July, 1698, five ships sailed from Leith for Panama with twelve hundred colonists on board.

The story of the disaster is well enough known. The snag in the enterprise lay in the fact that no attempt had been made to secure the goodwill of Spain, then dominant in that part of the world. Between the refusal of the English colonies in America to supply provisions, quarrels among its own leaders, the armed hostilities of the Spaniards, and the deadly effects of the climate, the colony melted away, and, when a second and third expedition, which sailed from the Clyde with Paterson himself on board, reached the spot, there was nothing to be seen but a collection of graves. Of the 2700 colonists who altogether went out, not more than thirty ever reached Scotland again. Among these was Paterson, who for a time was rendered lunatic by his misfortunes.

Glasgow, no doubt, derived some profit from the outfitting of the later ships of the expedition—the last of them, the *Speedy Return*, was fitted out and furnished with a crew by William Arbuckle, a Glasgow merchant. But one can picture the consternation in the city when news arrived from Greenock in the last days of June, 1700, that Captain Campbell of Fonab had anchored his little vessel there with remnants of the abandoned enterprise on board. Seven months later the town council petitioned Parliament to appoint a committee to enquire into the Company's affairs, and meanwhile to stop all processes and executions for further payments until examination was made.⁶

But the Company of Scotland had not yet given up the ghost. Rumours had reached this country of enormous profits

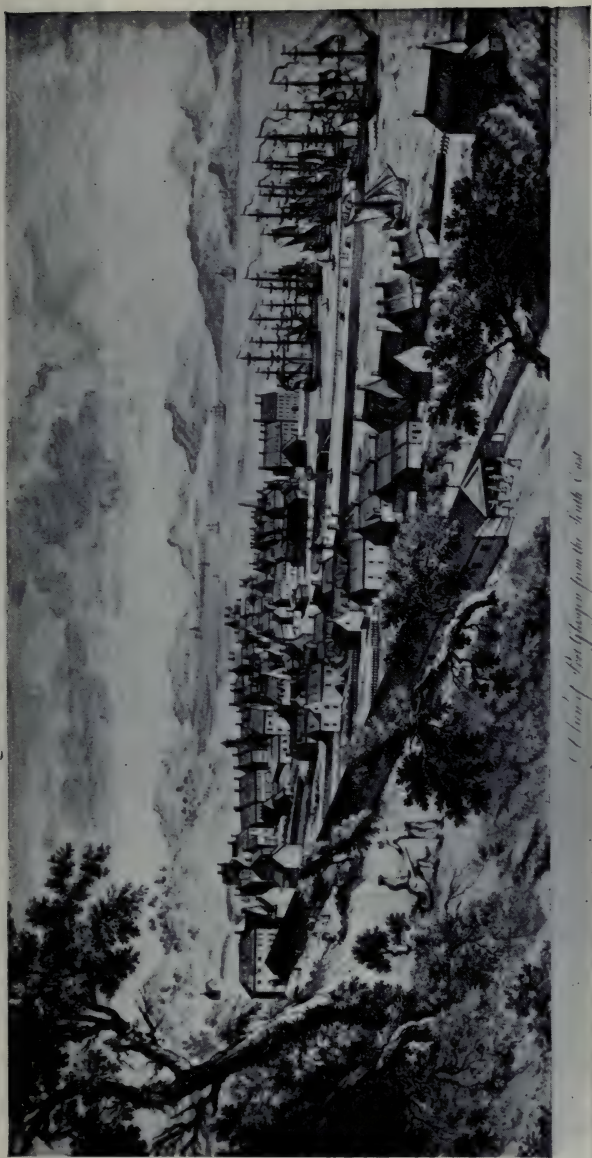
⁶ *Burgh Records*, 29th June, 1700, 11th Jan., 1701.

made by New York ships trading with the pirate settlements in Madagascar. One vessel, the *Nassau*, in 1698 had netted no less a sum than £30,000 for its owners from a single voyage. Lured by such prospects the Company determined on something like a gambler's throw. It fitted out at Port-Glasgow two vessels, the *Content* and the *Speedy Return*, loaded them with barrels of flour and beer, hogsheads of tobacco and buccaneer guns, looking-glasses and silk-looped hats, ivory-hafted knives and gold waistcoat buttons, and sent them out to the pirates' fortified settlement of St. Mary's on the Madagascar coast. There they disposed of their goods and did some business in the slave trade. But one day, when Captain Drummond and Captain Stewart were on shore, the pirates took possession of the ships, and that ended the venture as far as the Company of Scotland was concerned.⁷

Eventually, of course, Glasgow recovered most of the capital invested in the great venture. When the Articles of Union between Scotland and England were being arranged in 1706, it was agreed that England should pay to Scotland an "Equivalent" of £400,000 to compensate for the amount of England's debt about to be taken over by Scotland. At the same time it was insisted that the Company of Scotland, with its far-reaching privileges, should be wound up. It was arranged, therefore, that the greater part of the "Equivalent" should be devoted to paying out the stockholders of the Company, with interest.⁸ Glasgow appears to have received its share of this money very promptly. The *Burgh Records* of 16th and 26th September, 1707, mention a visit of the Provost and

⁷ The books and documents of the Company of Scotland are preserved in the Scottish National Library. A monograph on the subject by John Hill Burton was printed for the Bannatyne Club. More recently the *Darien Shipping Papers* were edited for the Scottish History Society by Dr. G. P. Insh, and the story is fully told in the same writer's work, *The Company of Scotland*, published by Charles Scribner's Sons in 1932.

⁸ Hill Burton, *Hist. Scot.* viii. 132.



A View of Port-Glasgow from the South-East

PORT-GLASGOW FROM THE SOUTH-EAST IN 1768.
From engraving by A. Paul. By permission of Dr. W. F. MacArthur.

Dean of Guild to Edinburgh, to receive " the toun's part of the Affrican money," £2114 15s. 7½d. sterling altogether, and the payment of £20 Scots to James Littlejohn, carrier, for conveying it home to Glasgow.

The people of Glasgow meanwhile do not seem to have blamed Provost Anderson for their heavy loss in this great venture, for he was chosen Provost again in 1699 and 1703 ; but as age pressed upon him, and it looks as if he had fallen on less prosperous days, he seems to have suffered a change of regard. As with many of the merchant adventurers of those times, with their fortunes on the sea, his affairs may have been subject to serious fluctuations. As early as 1669, after the death of his first wife, Marion Darroch, the Town Council remitted to him the feu-duties of Camlachie, which had been hers in life-rent.⁹ A few years later, in 1684, he advanced money " to plenish the General's lodging " and to " outreik " the militia horses with a year's maintenance.¹⁰ Later still, however, there are signs that he was not without the need of money. In 1692, some irregularities having occurred, Anderson and four others were appointed to report on the position of the town's affairs. On the recommendation of that committee the Town Council " concludit and agreed " that a special set of account books, a journal and a ledger, should be kept, in addition to the public register, shewing at a glance the town's debts and credits, revenues and payments. For the keeping of these books it was declared, " there can be no fitter person gottine then John Andersone, late proveist." Anderson undertook the work, and agreed to accept an allowance " for his

⁹ *Burgh Records*, 10th Aug.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 26th and 27th Sept. Notwithstanding his many services there seems to have been a party in the city disposed to question the acts of the worthy provost. In January, 1701, these persons, led by a certain George Lockhart, presented two petitions to Parliament. The first complained that he had carried out an election of council without consulting the Merchants and Trades Houses ; the second declaring that he did not truly represent the inhabitants as their parliamentary representative. Parliament, however, shelved the petitions.—Crawford, *Sketch of the Trades' House*, p. 90.

pains." A year later he produced the books, which shewed the town's accounts so clearly, and proved so satisfactory, especially since they shewed that a considerable debt had been paid off, that it was agreed to pay him a salary of £15 sterling a year for his trouble, and to continue him in the appointment. The salary was afterwards increased to £20, probably because the keeping of books for the excise was added to the work. Dowhill kept the books and drew the emolument till 1708. In that year the Town Council reviewed all the salaries and pensions it was paying, and while continuing all the others, decided that, as the city had a regular treasurer, it was unnecessary to continue the payment to Anderson. Apparently there had been some trouble with Dowhill's son, another John Anderson younger, and a certain Matthew Gilmour, for the accounts had not been entered during their treasurership. Anderson was therefore directed to post the books up to date, balance them, and deliver them to the Magistrates.¹

By that time Dowhill was an old man. A little later he is mentioned as "deceist." He had married again, and at his death had left his widow, Marion Hay, life-rented in "that great tenement of land" at the head of the Saltmarket which has been already mentioned. She was living there with her children in May, 1715, when a sudden conflagration occurred, and it was again reduced to ashes. The disaster was serious for Marion Hay, who had not means to rebuild the tenement. Four months afterwards the five shopkeepers on the ground floor petitioned the magistrates to have the dangerous walls taken down and to grant them authority to cover their shops from the weather. And a year later the widow herself petitioned for help to rebuild the property. She and her children and servants, she explained, had escaped only with their lives and in their shirts, all her furniture had been destroyed, along with

¹ *Burgh Records*, 15th Mar., 15th Sept., 1692; 19th Aug., 28th Oct., 1694; 17th Feb. 1708.

the writs and titles of the Dowhill properties, and she could not even sell the tenement for lack of the necessary deeds. In support of her petition she cited the services rendered by her late husband to the city. After consideration the Magistrates and Council agreed that for the decorum of the city a tenement in so conspicuous a position should be rebuilt, and they undertook to make a grant of two thousand merks Scots if the building was completed and roofed before the first of June in the following year. Apparently no time was lost, for on 21st May, 1717, the treasurer was instructed to pay the 2000 merks to "Lady Dowhill," the work having then been finished.² This action was all the more creditable to the city fathers and is witness to the esteem in which the memory of John Anderson was held, when it is remembered that the town was just then wrestling with the expenses incurred on account of the Jacobite rising under the Earl of Mar.

Anderson left four daughters, two by each marriage. Of these, Marion, a daughter by his second marriage, seems to have inherited the tenement in Saltmarket. She married the Rev. Charles Moore, minister of Stirling, and was mother of Dr. Moore the friend of Robert Burns, and grandmother of Sir John Moore, the hero of Corunna. Another daughter, Christian, married John Gibson, merchant and bailie, and after her husband's death, being reduced to penury, was granted an allowance of £25 Scots quarterly by the Town Council for her subsistence.³ Still another daughter, Barbara, was with her numerous children reduced to great straits by a reverse in the circumstances of her husband, Mr. William Fogo of Killorn, "now a prisoner in Stirling tolbooth, where he is like to continue for life." In view of her father's services to the city the Town Council in 1754 granted her a pension of £12 sterling, stipulating that it should not be subject to her husband's *jus mariti* or the claims of his creditors.

² *Ibid.* 26th Aug., 1715; 27th Aug., 1716.

³ *Ibid.* 29th Jan. 1725; 15th June, 1750.

CHAPTER V

LAND PURCHASES AND MUNICIPAL TRADING

IN the troubled years which followed the Revolution Glasgow does not appear to have prospered very greatly. The population, which in 1688 numbered 11,943, was no more than 12,766 twenty years later, when a census was taken.¹ Rising pleasantly on its sunny brae-face from the river bank, with gardens about its houses, scenting the air with apple-blossom in spring, and with cornfields around, rustling golden in autumn, it was really a garden city. East of the Molendinar, on the riverside, the New Green, painfully repurchased from its many smallholders, was being brought into condition by cropping and grazing, while the Old Green, which stretched westward from the Molendinar to St. Theneu's or St. Enoch's Burn, was being encroached upon by buildings like the Merchants Hospital and industries like the rope-work, which gave its first name to the present Howard Street—Ropework Lane.² In the hundred years since 1588, when the West Port was moved from the spot which is now the foot of Candleriggs to the head of the Stockwellgait, the crofts on the south side of St. Theneu's Gait, or Trongate, had been slowly built upon. Just outside the port on the west side of the Stockwellgait stood the tower of the Halls of Fulbar, which was only taken down at the end of the nineteenth century, and farther west, by the side of St. Theneu's

¹ Denholm, *Hist. of Glasg.* 1804, says the population had been 14,600 in 1660.

² *Burgh Records*, 5th Dec., 1696; 17th April, 1697.

Burn, stood the ruin of St. Theneu's Chapel, the site of the later St. Enoch's Church. On the north side of Trongate the Long Croft, which extended from the back of the High Street houses westward to the Cow Loan, which is now Queen Street, had also been considerably built upon. There the Candleriggs, with the "soaperie" of the Whalefishing Company near its head,³ had been opened up, and Hutchesons' Hospital, with its acre of garden behind, stood on the site of the present Hutcheson Street. Beyond the Cow Loan to St. Theneu's Burn, which crosses Argyll Street at the foot of Mitchell Lane, lay the Pallioun Croft, so called, it is said, from the pavilions or tents of the Regent Moray's army which encamped there before the battle of Langside; and along the thoroughfare, as far as the little bridge over St. Theneu's Burn, stood certain malt kilns, whose owners were accused of throwing their straw into the roadway, and choking the "syre" or gutter.

On the south side of the river the town had acquired in 1650 the Gorbals part of Sir George Elphinstone's barony of Blythswood.⁴ Eastward along the Gallowgate lay the estates of a number of well-known Glasgow families, Dowhill, Claythorn, Barrowfield. On the north-east the great estate of Provan had been acquired in 1667, as we have seen, rather with a view to controlling the supply of water from Hogganfield Loch to the town's mills than for the purpose of extending the city. The town also included the beautiful Rottenrow and its sequestered old manses, with their sunny gardens sloping to the south on the Deanside brae. This "tennandry of Rottenrow," between forty and fifty acres in extent, had been the first extension of the burgh's boundaries, granted to the Magistrates by James VI. in 1613 as a reward for their preservation of the Cathedral and bridge.⁵ The ground was mostly

³ The Soaperie was burned in 1777 and the business given up.—Cleland's *Annals*, ii. 367.

⁴ *Regality Club Publications*, iv. 1-60. ⁵ *Glasgow Charters*, ii. pp. 284-91.

in private possession, but the magistrates drew from it certain rents and feu-duties.

Between this "tennandry" of Rottenrow and the Long Croft and Pavilion Croft, and extending westward over the sites of the present City Chambers and George Square, stretched the lands of Ramshorn and Meadowflat. Again and again these lands had had their crops eaten and destroyed by troops quartered in the city. As late as November, 1693, the town paid the tenant £100 16s. for corn eaten and carried off the ground by the English regiment commanded by Sir John Lanier. The owner of the acres, Ninian Hill of Lambhill, was probably sick of such troubles, and he offered the land to the burgh at twenty-two years' purchase, the rent being estimated at ten merks per boll of crop. The Magistrates, in considering the offer, displayed a praiseworthy zeal for the preservation of the town's amenities. They feared that the land might be purchased by someone who "might perhaps improve the samine to the prejudice of the burgh." They accordingly agreed to acquire it at twenty years' purchase, a sum of 20,300 merks, with a gratuity of fifteen guineas to "Lambhill's lady." The transaction, curiously, was carried out with the funds of "the three hospitals," the Merchants', the Trades', and Hutchesons', who were to have the land divided equally among them; but in the end, partly for the reason that the estate had belonged previously to George Hutcheson of Lambhill, the founder of Hutchesons' Hospital, the entire property was acquired for that trust, burdened with a feu-duty of £4 payable to the burgh and certain conditions preventing it from being "improved" to the prejudice of the town.⁶

This vicarious purchase of Ramshorn and Meadowflat was only one of several curious financial transactions of the Glasgow Magistrates and Councillors at that time. On the plea of diffi-

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 13th Sept., 17th Nov., 1693; 7th Feb., 12th May, 1694; 31st Aug., 1696; 1st Oct., 1709.

culty in paying the town's debts, letters were procured from the King to the Privy Council authorising the Magistrates to continue the levy for the use of the burgh of the two pennies excise duty on each pint of ale and beer brewed or sold in the town, for the space of thirteen years.⁷ Apparently the city fathers saw in this grant the opening of a golden fountain. They promptly decided that "it could not be expected that such ane great gift might be obtained without expence and charge and the gratifieing of persons in public trust." They accordingly directed that the city treasurer be provided with a thousand pounds sterling, besides ten guineas already sent to him in Edinburgh, for the payment of gratuities to certain persons who had been instrumental in securing the grant for the city. As they did not actually possess the thousand pounds they proposed to give away, they proceeded to borrow that sum, and gave bonds to nine individuals who lent them the money.⁸

Of similar character was the transaction, already recorded, which was carried through a little later with the Darien Company. Though the Town Council subscribed for £3000 of stock in the undertaking, the entire sum does not appear to have been called up, and meanwhile the magistrates availed themselves of the Company's offer, and borrowed £500 sterling for the payment of the city's debts.⁹

At the same time the merchants of Glasgow had been making their way into new avenues of trade. At the time of the Revolution one of the chief industries of the town was sugar refining. Since 1667, when the first factory, the Wester Sugar-house, was built in Bell's Wynd and Candleriggs, the business had been considerably exploited. The Easter Sugar-house was built on the south side of Gallowgate in 1669, and was followed

⁷ *Glasgow Charters and Documents*, ii. 249-51.

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 25th Sept., 1693.

⁹ *Ibid.* 5th Oct., 1696.

by the South Sugar-house in Stockwell Street, and another in King Street.¹⁰ These sugar-houses not only supplied the greater part of Scotland with their commodity, but enjoyed the privilege of distilling spirits from their molasses, free from all duty and excise.¹ When it was proposed to set up an additional sugar factory in 1701, there was projected, in connection with it, a work "for distilling brandy and other spirits from all manner of grain of the growth of this kingdom," and it was added "the distillery will both be profitable for consumption of the product of the kingdom, and for trade for the coast of Guinea and America, seeing that no trade can be managed to the places foresaid, or the East Indies, without great quantities of the foresaid liquors."²

Tobacco also had begun to bring to the city a stream of wealth that was to flow for a hundred years. The trade was hampered at first by the curious communal by-law that all cargoes must first be offered to the Magistrates and Council, and that no bargain must be made for their purchase wholesale by an individual. Thus, on 10th January, 1674, the city fathers deputed the Dean of Guild and Deacon Convener to "sight" a cargo offered to the town by William Johnstone and William Bouk, which included forty hogsheads of Virginia leaf tobacco, twelve barrels roll and cut, at thirty-six pounds per cent. "guid and bad."³ On 20th January, 1677, the Magistrates granted liberty to Hugh Buick, writer in Edinburgh, to sell four hogsheads of Virginia, which he had offered to the town, to whom he pleased. And on 29th August, 1681, an offer was made by Richard Bucklie of no less than 105 hogsheads of

¹⁰ *Trans. Glasg. Arch. Society*, 1st Series, i. 354.

¹ Gibson's *Hist. of Glasgow*, 246; Chambers's *Dom. Annals*, iii. 126.

² *Dom. Annals*, iii. 127.

³ *Burgh Records*. As shewing the other commodities then being imported, the cargo also included eight casks of casnutt sugar at £16 16s. per cent., four thousand pounds weight of ginger at £18 per cent. and a ton of unground logwood at £120 per ton.

Virginia leaf tobacco, with some leaf tobacco in bulk, and three barrels roll tobacco. In this case the prices were, for the hogshead tobacco 24s. sterling per hundredweight, for the bulk tobacco 20s., and for the roll tobacco 30s., in other words from about 2½d. to 4d. per pound. On certain suspicions Bucklie was ordered to store his cargo in Glasgow, and give his oath as to whether he had offered or sold any of the consignment elsewhere.

Yet again, on 15th May, 1691, complaint was made to the Town Council that a certain William Corse and his partners had bought from a stranger, who was not a freeman of any burgh, a ship's load of tobacco, without making an offer of it to the town. As a result the said William and his partners in crime were cited to appear before the magistrates to be fined and otherwise punished.⁴

Restrictions and impediments of this kind placed in the way of trade and industry by a communal town council made commerce on a large scale, of course, impossible.⁵ The activities of the city fathers were salutary and valuable while they were devoted to the duties of domestic government, the safeguarding of person and property, the provision of education, the securing of amenities, the settlement of disputes, and the like. The magistrates were within their province when they suppressed a practice which had grown to be a nuisance, that of parties masquerading and serenading through the streets in the night-time, creating disturbance, and offering "insolencies" to the guards and other persons.⁶ They were providing for a known want in allowing Margaret Hamilton, cook, to continue during her lifetime her employment of serving the town's inhabitants with meat and drink—keeping "ane taverne and ane cookerie"—otherwise apparently the town's first restaurant. Margaret agreed to pay fifty merks for the privilege, and

⁴ *Burgh Records*.

⁵ *Ibid.* 19th April, 20th April, 21st Sept., 1695.

⁶ *Ibid.* 12th Sept., 1691.

was granted the same rights as the widow of a burgess.⁷ They honoured the city's notable tradition of musical culture by engaging Mr. Lewis de France to "teach the inhabitants in toune to sing musick." Mr. Lewis agreed "to take onlie fourtein shilling per moneth, for ane hour in the day, from these that comes to the schooll, and fourtein shilling for wryting the threttein comon tunes and some psalmes, the schollars furnishing bookes." He also "condescended" to teach such poor in the town as the Magistrates should direct.⁸ For this the Magistrates agreed to pay him £100 Scots yearly, and to prohibit the teaching of music by any other public school. They were no doubt supplying a felt want when they granted a certain Mr. John Pujolas the sum of £5 sterling to help the printing of a French grammar, and agreed to pay him £100 yearly for the encouragement of his teaching of French.⁹ They were within their province in ordering a register of deaths within the city to be kept. The first registrar received for remuneration the sum of thirty shillings Scots weekly.¹⁰ And they might be excused the little luxury of having the seats of the council in Kirk strewn with flowers, and a similar provision made for the table in the council chamber. The flowers were got from the garden of the Merchants Hospital in Briggate, and cost the Magistrates no more than twelve shillings Scots yearly.¹ It is true, the Magistrates provided mills for grinding the corn of the burgesses. But they were sufficiently well advised not to carry on the business themselves, but to lease the mills to individuals whose interest it was to cultivate the approval of their customers. In succeeding years the rental of these mills continued to increase, and in 1691 it amounted to 8750 merks, with fifty bolls of ground malt.²

These activities might all be regarded as within the purview

⁷ *Burgh Records*, 23rd May, 1691.

⁸ *Ibid.* 24th Sept., 1691.

⁹ *Ibid.* 29th Nov., 1690.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 15th Oct., 1692.

¹ *Ibid.* 4th Oct., 1691.

² *Ibid.* 2nd June, 1691.

of civic legislation and administration. It was only when the city fathers went outside this natural province, and proceeded to interfere with trade, that they became a hindrance to the development of the town's prosperity. In no case do they appear to have exercised their option to purchase goods brought to the city in wholesale quantities, but the restrictions as to price which they used their option to impose, must have discouraged enterprise and sent commerce elsewhere for a hundred and fifty years.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, however, the Glasgow merchants had begun to think of trade in larger terms. Walter Gibson's ventures to France and America were examples of this. So far the chief trade of Scotland had been with Holland, Denmark, and Norway. For that reason the shipping was mostly from the east coast ports. Leith, Montrose, and the little harbours round the Fife coast were the scenes of the country's main export and import trade. Hence James V.'s description of Fife as "a rough Scots blanket fringed with gold."

But Glasgow was awakening to possibilities in other directions. The founding of Port-Glasgow as a civic harbour on the open estuary of the Clyde in 1668 was an evidence of this ; and everything may be said to have been ready for the great event which happened presently, and which threw open to Glasgow merchant enterprise the whole trading possibilities of the New World across the Atlantic.

CHAPTER VI

DOMESTIC ANNALS

As the seventeenth century drew to a close, signs of change were to be noted in many of the conditions of life in Glasgow. The strange superstition regarding demoniacal possession and the possibility of making a pact with Satan, which for four hundred years smeared the page of Christian history with its cruel stain, was to demand victims in Scotland for another quarter of a century.¹ As late as the month of October, 1696, the relatives of Christian Shaw of Bargarran brought that child to Glasgow to consult an eminent physician, named Brisbane, regarding the curious symptoms from which she suffered. Brisbane sensibly attributed the symptoms to hypochondria, but a commission of the Privy Council presided over by Lord Blantyre, and an assize court at Paisley, in which the Lord Advocate Steuart acted as prosecutor, declared for witchcraft, and in consequence on 10th June, 1697, five poor creatures were hanged and burned on Paisley Gallow Green.² The death of these unfortunates, however, did not end the witch hunt. In the following year Glasgow Town Council paid £66 8s. Scots for the maintenance in the Tolbooth of certain witches and warlocks, imprisoned there by order of the commissioners at Paisley.³

¹ The last case of witch-burning in Scotland took place at Dornoch in 1722.—Scott's *Demonology and Witchcraft*, ninth letter.

² "The Renfrewshire Witches," Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, iii. 167.

³ *Burgh Records*, 12th March, 1698.

But while this superstition still claimed victims, another affliction which had for centuries been still more serious had apparently quite died out. The ghastly disease of leprosy had become a thing of the past. In 1694 the council considered an application for a feu of the old leper house, known as St. Ninian's Hospital, at the south end of Glasgow bridge, and five years later, in the grant of a precept of *clare constat* to the heirs of a certain Claud Paul, the buildings of the hospital were stated to be ruinous.⁴ Thus almost certainly had passed away, from the burgh and neighbourhood of Glasgow at any rate, a disease which in its deadly ravages had included no less a victim than King Robert the Bruce himself.

This change may no doubt be accounted for, to a considerable extent, by a growing consciousness of the need for more cleanly habits among the people themselves. Everyone has heard of the shocking custom which persisted in Edinburgh till comparatively late in the eighteenth century. There, any time after ten at night, the passenger in the street might hear the cry of “ Gardyloo ! ” and despite his shout of “ Haud your hand ! ” might find himself drenched in a moment with the contents of a bucket of filth discharged by a servant from some window in a tenement far overhead. The same disgusting custom prevailed in Glasgow, but was stopped by the magistrates at a much earlier period. In 1696 the city fathers, “ taking to consideration the many complaints made by the inhabitants of the growing and abounding nestiness and filthiness of the place,” forbade the heads of families to allow the throwing from their windows, front or back, by day or night, of any waste matter, liquid or solid, on pain of being fined five merks for each offence.⁵ Thus the passer-by was relieved, at a comparatively early period, of the possibility of receiving these unasked blessings descending from above, and McUre the his-

⁴ *Ibid.* 27th Jan., 1694 ; 14th Aug., 1699.

⁵ *Ibid.* 16th Jan., 1696.

torian, writing in 1736, was able to rejoice in the "odoriferous smell" of the orchards and gardens which mingled so pleasantly with the tenements and houses of the burgh.

There was still, to be sure, a sufficiently old-world spirit about the Magistrates, who, after fining and committing to prison certain burgesses who, "being too late frae their respective families," had assaulted the town's sentries, added a clause to their sentence—"In regaird the morn is the Lord's Day, allows them to goe at libertie till Tuesday nixt, at eleven of the clock in the forenoon," when they were duly to return to the Tolbooth, and remain there till they paid their fines.⁶

At the same time a distinctly modern note was sounded by the occurrence of a strike of the bakers in the burgh. The movement appears to have been a concerted rebellion of the craft against the authority of the Town Council. In October, 1695, according to custom, the Magistrates had made their annual regulation. The twelve-penny loaf was to weigh 9 ozs. 5 drops 12 grains, and it was, of course, to be of standard quality. In the following June, no doubt in consequence of complaints by the burgesses, thirteen of the baxters, probably all the members of the craft, were imprisoned by the provost⁷ for "making insufficient bread, and for not furnishing the market as formerly"; and they were ordered to be kept in prison till they had given their bond to supply the citizens with such "good and sufficient bread" as was furnished by the bakers of Edinburgh, under a penalty of £100 Scots for each offence. The baxters refused to give the bond, and applied to the Town Council for their freedom. They had evidently supporters in the council on whom they relied. "By some mistake," or more probably with connivance, "some of the bailies" took upon themselves to set the delinquents at liberty

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 21st Mar., 1696; 12th Mar., 1698.

⁷ This was one of the many instances in which Anderson of Dowhill, as Provost, showed his ability to act with promptitude and firmness in an emergency.

without giving the required bond. The council, however, ordered them to be re-imprisoned till the security was given in the terms arranged with their agent in Edinburgh, the only concession being a reduction of the penalty to fifty pounds.⁸

The ringleader of the strike was evidently a certain Alexander Thomson, and the Town Council next proceeded to deal with him. He was charged at the instance of the procurator-fiscal with " utering many vyle and ignominious words against, and insolent carriage and behaviour towards, the provest." On acknowledging the truth of the charge, he was fined five hundred merks, deprived of his burgess privileges, and ordered to stand for an hour at the head of the Tolbooth stair, the place where public proclamations were made, with his head uncovered and a paper fixed to his forehead describing his offence. He was further ordered to remain in prison till his fine was paid, and afterwards to leave the burgh and never to return.⁹

This firm handling settled the main trouble with the baxters. But the recalcitrance of the craft had gone a step further. In defiance of public rights, and notwithstanding an agreement made by themselves, the baxters had raised their mill dam on the Kelvin to such a level that it deprived the town's mill above it of the fall of water necessary to drive its wheel. Here, again, the Magistrates and Council took prompt action. On examination the dam was found to have been raised twelve inches above the stipulated level. Thereupon the baxters, being threatened with a fine of five hundred merks, acknowledged their fault and placed themselves at the discretion of the council. They were then ordered to reduce their dam to the proper level, and keep it at that, under a penalty of a thousand merks. A committee was appointed to see the work done, and the baxters were provided with a gauge, of which a duplicate was kept by the Town Clerk. The baxters evidently realised

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 27th June, 1696.

⁹ *Ibid.* 4th July, 1696.

that the council was not to be trifled with, for the level of the dam was reduced within a month.¹⁰

In the absence of a banking system throughout the country the Government still made its payments in the manner of the feudal centuries, not by the remitting of money from a central fund, but by local payments out of the readiest moneys levied in the district. Thus the Magistrates of Glasgow are found paying two sums of fifty pounds sterling each to the officers of Colonel Douglas's regiment, and charging the amount against "the Mertiness supplie," or taxation due to Government at 11th November; and a month later they record the payment of £450 Scots to Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton, to be taken out of the half-year's stipend of the Barony parish, then vacant, and therefore in the hands of its patron, the King.¹

Again and again it appears that the levying of regular "supply," or taxes for Government purposes, which had been introduced since the Revolution, was felt as a drawback to the prosperity of the burgh. Under this pressure the Magistrates were driven both to economise expenditure and to seek new sources of revenue. In 1695 they passed a resolution which must have borne hardly upon a number of persons. "Taking to consideration the present low condition of this burgh," the city fathers, at one stroke, "rescinded and annulled" all pensions granted before the year 1690.²

The Town Council next turned its attention to the cost of maintaining its harbours at the Broomielaw and Port-Glasgow. That charge, it was felt, could no longer be borne by the "Common Good" funds of the burgh, "now brought so low, as said is." With the approval of the Merchants House and the Trades House, the Magistrates therefore proceeded to institute harbour dues. The highest charge was £12 Scots for vessels loading or unloading at the quay of Port-Glasgow. This was

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 26th June, 24th July, 7th Aug., 18th Sept., 1697.

¹ *Ibid.* 21st Nov., 19th Dec., 1696.

² *Ibid.* 26th Oct., 1695.



VIEW OF OLD BRIDGE WITH APPROACH FROM RIVER TO WATER PORT, C. 1776.

From original pen and ink sketch by James Brown.

for burgesses only; strangers and unfreemen were to pay double. At the same time the Council took the opportunity to make rules for the management of the harbours. For the carrying out of these at Port-Glasgow the bailie of that place was made responsible. Among other matters, masters of vessels were not to cast ballast or dirt overboard in the river or roadstead, no anchor was to be laid in the water without a buoy attached, and cursing and swearing were to be punished by the bailie "conform to the Acts of Parliament."

The city fathers also took notice of the damage done to the paving of the streets by the iron-shod carts of the burgesses and of incomers. Within and without the ports, the record declares, the streets, causeways, and highways were "exceedingly damnified and ruined" by this traffic, and it was felt to be just that a charge should be made to relieve the Common Good of the burden of upkeep. Upon burgesses the charge was laid in the form of an annual payment of £2 Scots for each shod cart, unfreemen paying double, while for strangers carting loads into the town the charge was in form of a toll—two shillings or four shillings Scots in and out, according to distance.³ Thirty-three years later, in 1728, "considering the great dammage which the streets of this city, and avenues thereof sustain thro a late method of fixing the iron bands to the trades of carts by square-headed stob naills," the magistrates strictly prohibited this practice.⁴

To this rule a curious exception was made. Carts belonging to the Duchess of Hamilton and her town of Hamilton were admitted free. The exception was probably allowed in recognition of the kindness of the Duchess Anne, who, after the battle of Bothwell Bridge, is said to have saved the lives of hundreds of the fleeing Covenanters by sending a request to the Duke of Monmouth asking him to "spare the game in her coverts." The Duchess, moreover, had quite recently given the handsome

³ *Ibid.* 30th Nov., 2nd Dec., 1695.

⁴ *Ibid.* 21st Oct., 1728.

sum of 18,000 merks to provide bursaries in Glasgow University.⁵

These tolls and dues were not levied directly by the Magistrates, but, like the other dues of the burgh, were leased by public auction to a private collector.⁶

By this time, also, notwithstanding its various almshouses, like St. Nicholas, Hutchesons', the Merchants, and the Trades House, the town was feeling the burden of the growing number of poor. The Merchants and Trades "stented" or taxed themselves for the support of their own decayed members, but there was another unattached class also to be provided for. Under Provost Anderson of Dowhill the Magistrates proceeded to grasp this nettle vigorously. First, to prevent the exploiting of its charity, the Town Council appointed constables to keep strange beggars out of the city.⁷ Then it appointed a committee, the first managers of the poor in Glasgow, empowered that committee to purchase or build almshouses and infirmaries, and drew up a set of rules of management which remains a model to the present day. All poor or disabled persons who applied were to be admitted, all foundlings were to be taken in charge, and all idle and vagabond persons who could give no account of their method of living were to be apprehended. They were to be provided with lodging, clothing, washing, and sufficient wholesome food, detained for specified periods of years, set to work at various employments, and, in case of refusal, chastised by corporal or other punishment, "not extending to life, limbs, or mutilation of any member." For maintenance, three-fourths of the ordinary collections at the church doors were assigned, and the supervisors were empowered to raise any further necessary sum by levying a rate of not more than one per cent. on the income of every inhabitant of the burgh. The younger poor were to

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 9th Jan., 1697; 27th Sept., 1694.

⁶ *Ibid.* 16th May, 1696.

⁷ *Ibid.* 14th Mar., 1696.

receive Christian instruction and to be bred up in some useful trade or employment.⁸

Curiously enough, while the members of the Merchants House and of the General Kirk Session unanimously approved of these proposals, the majority of the Trades objected. The Magistrates and Town Council, however, finding that "the generality of the inhabitants were cheerful in concurring," ratified the arrangement, and secured the approval of the Privy Council, which included Sir John Maxwell of Nether Pollok. The order was thereupon put into action.⁹

But while the Magistrates and Town Council felt it necessary to curtail waste and extravagance in those difficult years, they did not hesitate to expend money when the expense appeared to be necessary, or likely to bring a profitable return. We have seen how they invested a handsome sum in the adventures of the Company of Scotland. A year previously they made a grant of £12,000 Scots to the Trades House, to help the building of its great tenement at the corner of Saltmarket and Gallowgate, the spot where the restored Market Cross of Glasgow now stands.¹⁰ This was part of the great effort to secure the rebuilding of parts of the city which had been ruined by the conflagration of 1677. The building also balanced the Merchants House tenement, at the opposite corner of Saltmarket and Tron-gate, for the building of which the Town Council had made a grant thirteen years before.¹

As a further inducement to house-building, curiously suggestive of procedure in the twentieth century, the city fathers further decreed that tenements and houses built on the main

⁸ *Ibid.* 6th March, 1697.

⁹ *Ibid.* 20th March, 21st Aug., 1697.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 20th March, 1695. The building, known as Tradesland, was demolished in 1824.

¹ The Merchants' House tenement contained a coffee-house which evidently was Glasgow's first Exchange. The Town Council made it a grant of £3 per annum for the provision of newsletters till its own Town Hall and coffee-house next the Tolbooth were opened in 1738.—*Ibid.* 31st May, 1718; 1st July, 1719; 1st Oct., 1720; vol. vi. p. xiii.

streets to a certain standard should be free of taxation for a period of ten years.²

The Magistrates in the same spirit took in hand an important work of restoration on their own account. In 1670 the old kirk of the Blackfriars beside the College in High Street had been struck by lightning. Its steeple had been rent from top to bottom, its roof slates scattered, its gables broken, and its interior fired.³ The damage might have been repaired at once, as a sum of £10,000 had been subscribed in 1635 for the endowment of the kirk when it was taken over from the University. But that sum had been lent to the leader of the Covenanters, the Marquess of Argyll, and, as we have seen, could not be recovered. The building had therefore remained a ruin. In 1698, however, the need for another place of worship had become pressing. The Magistrates were finding difficulty in securing ministers for the five existing kirks because of the extraordinary size of the congregations. There were 9994 "examinable persons" then in the city.⁴ The College authorities were therefore approached, and agreed to pay a sixth part of the cost of restoring the kirk, that cost being estimated at £10,000 Scots; ⁵ the Town Council arranged to devote the seat rents of the other churches to the work, and a further sum was raised, by the ingenuity of the Dean of Guild, from the sale of burial-places to the citizens. The College stipulated that it should have the use of the church for graduation and other ceremonies, as well as the next best seat to that of the Magistrates, and the exclusive privilege of burying in the north-east corner of the churchyard. On the other hand, it agreed to allocate certain rooms in the College itself to the sons of burghesses.⁶

² *Burgh Records*, 20th April, 1699.

³ *Law's Memorials*, p. 33.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 13th Sept., 1701.

⁵ The actual cost of the building was £21,308 3s. 8d. Scots.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 3rd Dec., 1698; 6th May, 1699. *Charters and Documents*, ii. 274.

With a sixth kirk thus provided the Magistrates and general kirk session proceeded to divide the city into six separate parishes, of which the largest contained 1777 examinable persons, and the smallest 1607.⁷

At the same time the more secular amenities of life were not neglected. As an ornament to the town, and for the good of the burgesses and strangers sojourning within their gates, the city fathers thought it desirable to have a bowling green laid out, and they feued a piece of waste ground at the corner of Candle-riggs and Bell's Wynd to a certain Mungo Cochrane, merchant, for the purpose. The yearly feu-duty was £24 Scots, or £2 sterling.⁸ By way of provision, also, for the growing maritime interests of Glasgow, the magistrates secured and subsidised a certain Robert Whytingdale to teach the art of navigation along with book-keeping, arithmetic, and writing. They also encouraged one Delles Debois, a Protestant refugee, who had been a merchant in Rochelle, to settle in the town and teach the French language. And they even permitted the settlement of a dancing master, though this was with the distinct understanding that he should "behave himself soberly, keep no balls, and permit no promiscuous dancing of young men and young women together."⁹

Matters of courtesy and hospitality also were not neglected. There is the echo of a forgotten tragedy in the record of a deputation sent to Kilwinning to attend the burial of the two Masters of Montgomerie in April, 1696, while a more cheerful note is struck in the accounts for entertainments given to various noblemen and others who visited the city. Thus when the Marquess of Montrose was entertained and made a burgess in 1698, confections and fruits were provided, as well as a white-flowered ribbon with a gold fringe for his burgess ticket ; and there was similar provision for "treats" given at later

⁷ *Burgh Records*, 18th Aug., 13th Sept., 1701. ⁸ *Ibid.* 13th April, 1695.

⁹ *Ibid.* 7th Dec., 1695 ; 19th Feb., 1698 ; 11th Nov., 1699.

dates to the Earl of Argyll, Sir Hew Dalrymple, President of the Court of Session, the Earl of Donegal, the Duke of Hamilton, and certain ladies. As these "treats" cost no more than about £7 sterling on each occasion, the call for economy was not seriously slighted.¹⁰ Much more expensive was the gift of two hogsheads of wine to Lord Blantyre, but the transaction was really a matter of business, for it was definitely stated to be in settlement of all disputes between the town and his lordship.¹

At the same period several other important settlements were carried through. These settlements, it is interesting to note, were effected by the energetic and far-seeing provost, John Anderson of Dowhill, and still further increase the surprise that his name has not been more generally recognised as that of a benefactor to the city.

On 20th January, 1700, Anderson reported to the Town Council that he had met in Edinburgh Tobias Smollett of Bonhill, Provost of Dunbarton, and that, in consultation with the King's Advocate, they had drawn up an agreement. By that agreement Dunbarton resigned to Glasgow all rights to levy harbour dues and charges of any kind on the river, except those on stranger vessels at Kirkpatrick quay, and also gave up the right to the first offer of goods imported in wholesale quantities. It was further agreed that vessels and goods belonging to the burgesses of each town should be free of all dues and customs at the other. By way of compensation to Dunbarton, Glasgow agreed to pay 4500 merks.² Thus at last was cleared away, by the tactful efforts of this very capable provost, one of the chief obstacles which barred the path of Glasgow to the open sea and to the golden regions of prosperous trade which were just then about to open in the West.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 23rd Nov., 1698; 14th Aug., 1699; 20th June and 24th Oct., 1700; 8th May, 1701.

¹ *Ibid.* 18th Aug. 1694.

² *Ibid.* 20th Jan., 29th June, 1700. *Charters and Documents*, ii. 280, 289.

CHAPTER VII

PROVOST WALTER GIBSON AND HIS TROUBLES

AT the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth the population of Glasgow was still almost entirely what it had been since the time of St. Mungo, Cymric or British in blood and spirit. The invasion of Highlanders, Gaelic and Norse, from the glens of the north and the western isles, which forms so strong and valuable an element to-day, had not yet begun. In the lists of provosts who filled the civic chair from 1649 till 1707, Campbell is the only Highland name. Names like Wallace and Porterfield, Bell and Barnes, Peadie and Napier and Montgomerie, sufficiently attest descent from the ancient natives of Strathclyde.¹ The kinship of the citizens was mostly with the stout folk—farmers and shepherds, Covenanters and Whigs, of the shires of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, and Dumfries. They were probably, therefore, not so greatly moved to indignation as some writers have supposed at the news of the massacre by King William's Government of some thirty-eight of the Macdonalds of Glencoe. They might even regard that massacre as no very unjust retribution, in the fashion of the Highlanders themselves, on a tribe of cattle thieves and outlaws, who were, besides, adherents of what they considered the idolatrous faith of Rome.

Glasgow folk were probably much more deeply stirred to wrath by King William's treatment of the Darien Expedition, in which so large a part of the hard-gotten savings of the

¹ *Charters and Documents*, ii. 633.

citizens had been lost. It was by the influence of King William and his English Government that the Dutch and English stockholders had withdrawn their money from the enterprise, and it was by the definite commands of that same King and Government that the English colonists in Jamaica and Virginia refused to sell provisions to the starving Scottish colonists in Panama.² There was no doubt also that the Spaniards who finally extinguished the settlement at Darien were encouraged by the knowledge that the Company of Scotland was disapproved of, and unsupported by, the English King.

The disaster of Darien, there is reason to believe, threw a darker cloud over the fortunes and lives of many of the citizens of Glasgow than has yet been fully understood. One noted merchant of the city whose fortunes were already in difficulty at that time was the enterprising Walter Gibson. This great trader's original business of malt-making had brought him fortune, and his later industry of red-herring curing at Gourrock has often been referred to, along with his astonishingly successful traffic with France for brandy and salt. McUre gives Walter Gibson's as the first name among the partners of a great company trading to Virginia, Barbadoes, New England, St. Christopher's, Montserrat, "and other colonies in America." When disaster in the end overtook him, no doubt there were many who shook their heads, and attributed his troubles to the hand of Providence as a punishment for his part in transporting in his ships large numbers of Covenanters taken in the battles of Bothwell Bridge and Ayr's Moss, who were sentenced to slavery

² After the Union of the Crowns the Scots were permitted to settle in the plantations, and enjoy the privileges of English natives. From the time of the Darien adventure they began to be rudely treated. Many of them in public offices, justices of the peace and members of the council, were turned out, and sometimes they were rejected upon juries, etc. The goods and ships of Scotsmen were confiscated in the plantations, and this was sometimes done when the owners of them resided in London.—*The Case of Scotsmen residing in England and in the English Plantations*, pp. 4, 5 (Edinburgh, 1703). *The History of Great Britain during the Reign of Queen Anne*, by Thos. Somerville, p. 149.

in the American plantations. Whatever his methods, Gibson accumulated a great fortune and acquired a goodly estate. His various possessions included a piece of ground at Dunduskie Point, Gourrock, which was probably the site of his fish-curing enterprise, for it contained "a tower, houses, salt-pans, and fishings." He also owned "that great new-built tenement, high and laigh, back and foir, on the west side of the Saltmercat Street,"³ and, along with salmon cruives and fishings on the Kelvin and coal seams and pits at Camlachie, he was laird of Meikle Govan and Bellahouston, Balshagrie, Whiteinch-meadow, Balgray, Hyndland, Partick, Partick Bridge-end, and Clayslap or Overton, on which Glasgow University is now built.⁴ His politics, apparently, were not those of the Revolution party. He was the second of the provosts—John Barnes was the first—who were imposed upon the city by the direct action of James VII. But he was evidently no partisan, for at news of the landing of William of Orange and flight of King James, he drew up an address from the magistrates to the Prince which the Town Council entrusted to his discretion to despatch or retain.⁵

The first intimation that the affairs of the ex-provost were embarrassed occurs when the attention of the magistrates was drawn to the fact that certain considerable debts which he owed to the town, and which he had been allowed ample time to pay, had not been settled. Several other creditors, it appeared, had taken legal action to secure payment, and to protect

³ "This magnificent structure, admired by all foreigners and strangers, standing upon eighteen stately pillars or arches, and adorned with several orders of architecture" (McUre's *History*, McVean's ed. p. 126) collapsed with a mighty crash on Sunday, 16th Feb., 1823. The occupants had previously been warned out, and only one man was killed.—*Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 414.

The mansion was the work of the famous architect, Sir William Bruce, designer of the Merchants' House in Briggate and the later part of Holyroodhouse. From it the thoroughfare at whose corner it stood, the modern Prince's Street, took its original name of Gibson's Wynd.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 30th June, 1704.

⁵ *Ibid.* 24th Jan. 1689.

the city's interest the Town Council resolved to do the same.⁶ Gibson somehow managed to stave off the evil day for nine years. The magistrates proceeded to put in force a decree of the Lords of Session, and, for payment of the debt—5000 merks Scots—to dispose of all the late provost's properties to two purchasers, Mungo Cochrane, merchant, and Andrew Gibson, tenant in Hillhead of Partick. Final action, however, was still delayed, for the deed was not to be delivered till it was signed by the consenters and the 5000 merks had been paid.⁷

Worse was still to follow. Four years later still the debt had not yet been settled, and Walter Gibson was a prisoner in the Tolbooth. As there was some prospect that, if he were released from confinement he might be able to arrange certain difficulties with Mungo Cochrane which stood in the way of a settlement, he was allowed out on giving sureties to re-enter prison when required. Finally, after meetings with him, the Town Council agreed to accept 4500 merks as payment in full of the debt of 5000, and the disposition of the ex-provost's lands and properties was accordingly completed and handed over to Mungo Cochrane and Andrew Gibson.⁸

Gibson was still active in 1713 when some interference with the flow of water to the town's mills on the Kelvin brought him again into debate with the magistrates, but the account of his difficulties already detailed is enough to show the unhappy change of fortune which befell some even of the most substantial citizens in those uncertain years.

Only two new industries of any importance appear to have

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 19th Oct. 1695.

⁷ *Ibid.* 30th June, 1704.

⁸ *Ibid.* 20th June, 1708; 1st Jan. and 13th Sept. 1709. Curiously, though the Town Council obtained its decree of adjudication in 1697, the lands do not appear to have actually gone out of Gibson's possession. In 1720 he disposed Whiteinch to Robert Bogle and Balshagray to Matthew Crawford. These purchasers, however, fortified their titles by further dispositions from Andrew Gibson of Hillhead and Margaret, daughter of Mungo Cochrane. A similar series of transactions occurred a few years later in the case of John Walkinshaw, the Jacobite, and the disposal of his estate of Barrowfield.

been begun in Glasgow in those years. In 1696 a company secured a "Tack" or lease of the whole of the Old Green, except a part at the eastern end reserved for a timber yard, for the purpose of establishing a rope manufactory. The rent, curiously, was to be £10 sterling if the dykes about the Green continued to be maintained by the magistrates, or £100 Scots (£8 6s. 8d. stg.) if the company undertook the upkeep. The magistrates retained the right of public walking on the Green, of drying clothes there, and of holding the annual "roups" or auctions of the town's dues and customs on the ground.⁹

The second enterprise was a glass work "for makeing botles, window glasses, and others." For this purpose James Montgomerie, younger, and his partners, merchants of the town, were granted a lease, for three times nineteen years, of the ground between St. Enoch's Burn and the Broomielaw, and they proceeded to set up a factory whose chief feature, a kiln known as "the Bottle-house lum," formed an outstanding landmark of the city for a hundred years.¹⁰

The outstanding industries of Glasgow then comprised—"suggaries, roapary, soapary, and glassary." To these four must be added the still older industry of malt-making. This business must have been fairly extensive, for ale was made, not only by the brewster wives who kept taverns, but by large numbers of the private citizens, by whom it was used both as a beverage and as an accompaniment, in the scarcity of milk, to the universal dish of oatmeal porridge. It was to follow this business that George Buchanan, younger son of the laird of Gartacharan, near Drymen, came to Glasgow during the "killing times" of the last Stewart king. He had his maltkiln on St. Theneu's gait, near the foot of the present Buchanan Street, and was deacon-convener and visitor of his trade in

⁹ *Ibid.* 29th Nov. 1696 ; 17th April, 1697.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 29th June, 1700.

1691, 1692 and 1694.¹ The other "incorporations" of the Trades House were rather crafts than industries.

The state of trade in the town led to considerable murmuring in 1701, the inhabitants complaining that certain direct taxes were being levied upon them, and urging that the revenues of the burgh from its "Common Good," or civic properties, dues and tolls, should be enough to pay all its expenses. By way of reply to this complaint the magistrates caused a statement of revenue and expenses to be drawn up. This showed the revenue for the past year to have been £21,175 13s. 4d. Scots, while the expenditure had been £3113 7s. more, or £24,289 os. 4d. The heaviest item on the side of expenditure was £8722 of interest upon the town's debt, which amounted to the substantial sum for that time of £158,584 Scots or £13,215 6s. 8d. sterling.²

¹ *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. 3 ; *The Making of Buchanan Street*, p. 41.

² *Burgh Records*, 21st Nov. 1701.

CHAPTER VIII

UNION RIOTS IN GLASGOW

IN December 1701 the Town Council debated the method to be taken for addressing the King regarding the serious decay of trade in Glasgow,¹ but the project was stopped by the death of William on the eighth of the following March. Queen Mary having died eight years earlier, the crown passed at once to her younger sister, who then became Queen Anne. The Council duly covered the King's seat and its own in the High Kirk with seventy-six ells of black baize, and, headed by the Provost, Hugh Montgomerie of Busby, took the oath of allegiance to the new sovereign. Already, while this was being done, Queen Anne herself had revived the project which was to become the most important act of her reign, and was to open a new era of prosperity for Glasgow and of progress for Scotland. On the 11th of March, the third day after her accession, in her first speech to Parliament, the Queen recommended the opening of negotiations for a union of the Parliaments of England and Scotland.

¹ The economic condition of the Northern Kingdom altogether had reached a depth of very serious depression. Dr. Thomas Somerville, author of *The History of Great Britain during the Reign of Queen Anne*, has painted it in sombre colours. "The history of Scotland," he says, "from the union of the two crowns, exhibits a gradual tendency to national depression, which, at the accession of Queen Anne, had reached an extremity almost incapable of any aggravation or redress. Science and literature languished ; commerce, manufactures, and population declined ; luxury, from the example of a more opulent neighbourhood, advanced with rapid steps among the higher ranks. The specie of the country was drained, and poverty, like a gangrene, had overspread the whole body of the people."—p. 147.

The idea was not new. All the world knows how Edward I. had effected his purpose, by crafty and overbearing methods and with disastrous results. James VI., on his accession to the English crown, had at once made a proposal for an incorporating union of the kingdoms, and actually assumed the name of King of Great Britain.² Fifty years later, during his domination in both kingdoms, Oliver Cromwell carried the transaction through, and governed the two countries as a single republic, which was only broken up again at the Restoration. Latest of all, King William, in his first communication to the Scottish Parliament, had pointed out the advantages of a union, and the Scots had appointed commissioners to complete the project.

All these movements of a hundred years, however, had been frustrated by the reluctance of the English merchants to admit Scotland to the advantages of their foreign trade. It was only upon the arrival of another consideration, a real danger to themselves, that these English merchants showed eagerness to secure the union. Queen Anne was without a direct heir. Her last remaining child, the Duke of Gloucester, had died two years before her accession. In the event of her own death there was the possibility of serious trouble over the inheritance of the crown, and the English saw with alarm the likelihood of disastrous results if once more there should be separate kings ruling on the two sides of the Border. In England a recent Act had settled the crown on the House of Hanover, but no such Act had been passed in Scotland, and in the event of Queen Anne's death it seemed quite possible that the northern kingdom might invite the actual nearest heir, Her Majesty's half-brother James, to occupy the throne. England was then at war with France, and the issue was doubtful. The battle of Blenheim had not yet been fought. And if the weight of Scot-

² Magna Britannia was the name given by the ancient geographers to the larger of the British Isles, to distinguish it from Britannia Parva, the smaller isle, which is now Ireland.

land were thrown into the balance in favour of the fleur-de-lys the prospect would be serious indeed. In this emergency Queen Anne's first Parliament at once appointed a commission to treat with Scotland for a union.

But the English were not yet prepared to meet Scotland on equal terms. While anxious to obtain for themselves the political security which a union would give, and to admit certain products of Scotland which would be helpful to their own manufactures, they proposed to shut out other Scottish products, such as wool, which might compete with their own ; they refused to allow Scottish merchants to trade with the English plantations in America ; and they insisted that the Company of Scotland must cease its operations.³ In view of the unfairness of these terms it is not surprising that on 9th September, 1703, the Scottish Parliament withdrew its commissioners, and in emphatic language declared their commission to be " terminate and extinct."

Among the Scottish commissioners whose labours were thus suddenly cut short was Hugh Montgomerie of Busby, the Provost of Glasgow, on account of whose expenses, before he set out for London, the Town Council ordered 2000 merks to be borrowed and placed in his hand, and at the same time obliged themselves to meet any bills he might draw upon them.⁴

Scotland was now dangerously exasperated. When the next Parliament met, in May 1703, a political firebrand, of strong republican views, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, led a definite crusade of hostility against England. The English Parliament had settled the succession to the crown of that country on the Princess Sophia, wife of the Elector of Hanover, and daughter of the Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James VI. and I. Now the Scottish Parliament passed an Act of Security declaring that Scotland would choose a different sovereign unless its demands were satisfied. There were rumours of

³ Hill Burton, viii. 82.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 10th Oct. 1702.

a great tinchel or deer drive by the Highland chiefs in Lochaber, at which a rising for "James VIII." was to be planned, and certain stormy petrels of the Jacobite court in France, like the notorious Lord Lovat, were known to be in the country.⁵

But the exasperation of the people of Scotland was most alarmingly shown by a tragic event at Edinburgh. The *Annandale*, a ship belonging to the Company of Scotland, which had been fitted out for a voyage to the East Indies, had been seized in the Thames at the instance of the English East India Company. At the moment when the passion of Scotland was excited to flaming point by this outrage, an English vessel, the *Worcester*, trading to India, was driven by stress of weather into the Firth of Forth. The ship looked like a pirate, with her guns and numerous crew, and strange rumours regarding her began to be passed from mouth to mouth. Some of her sailors when in liquor made strange statements. In particular a black slave described how, off the Coromandel coast, the *Worcester* had captured a ship with English-speaking men on board, had thrown the crew into the sea, and had sold the vessel to a native trader. The people of Edinburgh, with rising resentment, identified the lost ship with one belonging to their own African Company, and Green, the master of the *Worcester*, and his crew, fifteen men in all, were seized, tried, and condemned to execution. The evidence was flimsy, and the Government would have reprieved the prisoners, but a furious mob surged round the Tolbooth, and demanded their lives. The Government yielded, and Green, his mate, and the gunner of the ship were dragged to Leith, amid the curses and pelting of the crowd, and there hanged, while they protested their innocence to the last.⁶

⁵ *The Duke of Queensberry's Letters*, 11th Aug. 1703; 14th Jan. 1704. Somerville's *Queen Anne*, p. 179.

⁶ Defoe, *Hist. of Union*, p. 78.



A VIEW OF THE
CITY
OF
GLASGOW:

... of the Design, Rate and Progress, with a more
... Description thereof than has hitherto
... been known.

[illegible]

Collected from many ancient Records, Charters, and other
valuable vouchers: and from the best Historians and private
Manuscripts.

By letter of the 11th Nov. CAMPBELL, Clerk to the Hon. the Lord
Commissioner, and Mr. J. G. Campbell, Clerk to the Hon. the Lord of Session,
Glasgow.

G L A S G O W.

By JAMES DONOVAN, Printer to the City, and
at the Press of JAMES DONOVAN, in the
City of New York, 1864.

FRONTISPIECE AND TITLE-PAGE OF "A VIEW OF THE
CITY OF GLASGOW"—BY JOHN MCURE.

That was in April 1705. Meanwhile, under the Act of Security of the previous year, and in order to be prepared to resist any further English aggressions, including the attempt to force the English choice of a monarch on Scotland, every man in the country who could bear arms was being trained by monthly drills. In Glasgow captains, lieutenants, and ensigns were appointed for the various companies, and severe penalties were imposed on any who did not accept their appointment and fulfil their duties. Certain Glasgow merchants, also, anticipating a demand for munitions of war, began to import gunpowder on a considerable scale, and the magistrates took the opportunity to lay in large supplies.⁷ Nothing seemed more likely than that, should the Queen die, the two kingdoms would be embroiled almost immediately in the flames of war.

With these facts in view the English Parliament and the English nation at last saw it to be their interest to arrange a union of the kingdoms on something like equal terms. Commissioners were accordingly appointed, thirty-one on each side, and after secret and exciting labours, which lasted for a week more than two months, a scheme of union was produced.

When the details of this scheme were made known in Scotland a storm of opposition at once broke out. The country was treated to a shower of pamphlets which declared that the commissioners had been bribed, and had sold their country. What Scotsmen had wanted was a federal, not an incorporating union, and the arrangement which had been made placed the kingdom, it was averred, for ever under the heel of its ancient enemies, the English.⁸ Behind the storm was the whole force and interest of the Jacobite party, who saw in the union a destruction of their hopes that Scotland as a separate kingdom might see a restoration of the direct line of its ancient Stewart

⁷ *Burgh Records*, 12th and 17th Feb. 1704.

⁸ Hill Burton, viii. 137.

kings, in the person of the Queen's brother, as James VIII. The Presbyterians also, and especially the Covenanters of the west, were enraged at the thought that they were to be placed once more under the rule of bishops, who comprised an important part of the House of Lords.

The first act of physical violence took place in Edinburgh itself. On 23rd October, 1706, while Parliament was sitting to consider the measure, a rabble gathered in the streets of the capital, hooted and stoned the High Commissioner, and smashed the doors and broke the windows of the Lord Provost, Sir Patrick Johnstone, who had been one of the commissioners at the drawing up of the treaty. Further trouble was only averted by the bringing of troops from the castle into the city, and the posting of guards of soldiers in the streets.⁹

It was not long before the bad example of the capital was followed in Glasgow. Here an address was drawn up urging the Government to abandon the project of union, and the magistrates were asked to give it their official sanction. This, under the direction of the Lord Advocate, they refused to do, and, on the refusal being made known, a ferment began to rise in the city. In the midst of the public excitement and fever, the General Assembly thought fit to appoint the keeping of a national fast. In Glasgow there was a popular preacher, the Rev. James Clark, minister of the Tron Kirk, who seems to have inherited the instincts and proclivities of John Knox. He chose for his text Ezra, ch. viii, v. 21: "Then I proclaimed a fast there, at the river of Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance." His congregation were already irritated and excited enough, when, waxing eloquent in his peroration, he declared that addresses would not do, prayers were not enough, exertions of another kind

⁹ Defoe, p. 238; *Lockhart Papers*, vol. i. p. 163.

were needed. "Wherefore," he concluded, "up and be valiant for the city of our God!"

The sermon ended about eleven o'clock, and by one o'clock the drum was beating in the back streets, and the mob was getting together in dangerous fashion. As an indication of its temper it burned the Articles of Union at the Cross.¹⁰ Next day, the 7th of November, the crowd, led by some of the deacons of the trades, surged round the Tolbooth, shouting, raging, throwing stones, and raising a great uproar. Finding the Provost had escaped from the building, the rioters rushed to his private house, where they seized all the arms in his possession, some twenty-five muskets, with other property. They then proceeded to break the windows of the laird of Blackhouse, who had advised against them.

Provost Aird meanwhile, with rather more discretion than valour, fled to Edinburgh. He returned when all was quiet, but the trouble soon broke out again. A little firmness on the Provost's part would probably have prevented any disturbance, but he was of the sort that fails to be firm out of fear that it may provoke reprisals. The result which followed was that which may always be expected from such a policy. To conciliate the populace Aird released from the Tolbooth a man who had stolen one of his muskets, and took a bond from him to appear when called upon. Scenting weakness at once, as a mob always does, the crowd stormed into the Town Clerk's chamber, and demanded that the bond be given up. The leader was one Finlay, "a loose sort of fellow," without employment, who had once been a sergeant in Dunbarton's regiment in Flanders, and whose mother kept a "changehouse" or small tavern in the outskirts of the town. Thinking to pacify the rabble, the Provost yielded again, and gave up the bond. The only result, however, was to make the crowd more insolent. When the Provost came out of the Tolbooth they

¹⁰ *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. xiv.

assailed him with villainous language, hustled him, and covered him with dirt. Seeing it impossible to reach his own house, he dashed up a common stair, and took refuge in a house, where they failed to find him. Defoe, who tells the whole story, declares that if they had found him they would have murdered him. But the Provost was hid, somewhat ingloriously, like Falstaff, in a bed folded up against the wall, which they never thought of taking down; and, having escaped the danger, he was conveyed out of town next day by his friends, and retired for a second time to Edinburgh.

By that time the mob had obtained complete mastery of the town. No magistrate durst show his face, and all the houses of the burgh were searched for arms. It was only at last, when the magistrates saw the citizens disarmed and the rabble possessed of their weapons, with the prospect that they might seize their houses, wives, and wealth, that they took heart of grace and ordered the captains of the city companies to call out their reliable men. When the rabble, headed by Finlay, next attacked the Tolbooth they were surprised to find it defended. At the first sally, and the firing of a few shots, the rioters dispersed and fled, and they were soon cleared from the piazzas and closes.

Finlay then, who had established a guard of his own in the castle ruins near the Cathedral, declared that he would march upon Edinburgh, and force the abandonment of the union. He set off with a company of forty-five men.

Meanwhile the Government, seeing the danger of the situation, hastily, on 29th November, passed an Act repealing the order to train companies, and ordering the return of arms to the magazines. When this was read from the usual place of proclamation, the head of the Tolbooth stair, the riot broke out again. The officers were stoned, the town guard was disarmed, and the mob, breaking into the Tolbooth, possessed itself of two hundred and fifty halberts stored there. They

then marched about the town, with a drum beating at their head, breaking doors and windows, entering and plundering houses, and carrying the spoil to their headquarters at the castle.

While these scenes were being enacted in Glasgow Finlay and his party had reached Kilsyth. They found no signs there of the great contingents of malcontents which they had expected to join their march from different parts of the country. On the other hand, they heard that a body of some two hundred dragoons was on the way from Edinburgh to suppress the rising. Finlay then marched his men to Hamilton, hoping to find another muster there. There was no news of it, however, and so, says Defoe, "he bestowed a volley of curses upon them," and marched back to Glasgow, where he arrived, "to the no small mortification of his fellows," on the day after the plundering riot above described.

The marchers made haste to hand over their weapons, not to the magistrates, but to certain deacons of crafts, who, it appears, had been secretly their friends, and hastily dispersed to their homes. Within two hours afterwards the dragoons entered the town. They seized Finlay and a comrade, one Montgomery, whom they found sitting with him by his mother's fire. They then rode to the cross, and cleared the streets, and presently, finding nothing further to do, rather inadvisedly marched away again by Kilsyth to Edinburgh with their prisoners.

But no sooner were the soldiers out of the town than the mob gathered again, and, knowing that they had only the pusillanimous magistrates to deal with, demanded that the Town Council should send a deputation to Edinburgh to secure the release of Finlay and his friend. Faced by *force majeure*, the magistrates again yielded, and sent two of their number, with several of the deacons of trades, to interview the Government. That deputation received short shrift from the

Chancellor, but by the time its members returned to Glasgow the outbreak had died away.¹

At the same time another demonstration was being made in the west country. On 20th November a party of Covenanters, several hundreds strong, rode into Dumfries, drew up in military order at the cross, and burned the Articles of Union. Arrangements were also made for a great rising, to be led by one Cunningham of Eckatt. The malcontents were to meet at Hamilton, eight thousand strong, march upon Edinburgh, and disperse the Parliament. On being told, however, that they were being used as cats'-paws by their old enemies the Jacobites, the Covenanters lost enthusiasm, and, when only four hundred appeared at the rendezvous, they abandoned the project.² It was this party which Finlay had hoped to meet when he led his men from Kilsyth to Hamilton.

Provost John Aird and his bailies cannot be said to have made anything like a heroic appearance during these troubles, but it is agreeable to know that their incapacity and pusillanimity have had no counterpart in the civic annals, either before or since. A notable feature of the occasion was the action taken by John Bowman, Dean of Guild, and George Buchanan, Deacon-Convener. In the midst of the disturbances these gentlemen called their respective houses together, and drew up a list of emergency measures for quelling the tumult and protecting life and property. These they submitted to the provost and magistrates on 18th November, but the necessary firmness seems to have been lacking on the part of the city fathers to make them effective.³

On 16th January, 1707, the Act of Union passed through

¹ The fullest account of these riots is given by Defoe in his *History of the Union*, pp. 267-280. Details are also given in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, XV. pt. iv. p. 352, and in *The Union of 1707*, published by the *Glasgow Herald* in 1907.

² *Memoirs of Ker of Kersland*, vol. i.

³ *Burgh Records*, 18th Nov. 1706.

its final stages in the Parliament House in Edinburgh, and was duly touched with the sceptre by the Queen's High Commissioner. Notwithstanding the opposition it received from the populace of Glasgow, the Act was to form one of the most important turning-points in the fortunes of the city, opening up for it a new era of prosperity through the golden gateways of the West.

CHAPTER IX

GLASGOW AT THE UNION

THE main purpose of the Union of the Parliaments of Scotland and England, which was consummated in 1707, was, of course, political, to obviate the possibility of a renewal of the old conflicts between the kingdoms which had proved so ruinous for three centuries. For full discovery of the other advantages and disadvantages time was required. The material gain was not all, by any means, upon the side of Scotland. The Union, for instance, opened the rich Scottish fisheries to English enterprise. It also enabled England to take a hand in the Scottish wool trade. Hitherto, by the export of Scottish wool, the industrialists of Holland and Sweden had been enabled to establish in these countries manufactures which competed severely with the woollen products of England. On the other hand, while Scotland benefited in many ways, the advantages were not at all equally distributed. Edinburgh, for example, lost much of the prestige and wealth which accrued from the meeting there of all the most notable people of the country to attend the Parliament. The harbour towns of the East Coast, too, which once prospered so greatly upon their trade with the Scandinavian countries and the Baltic, began presently to find their commerce diverted into other channels. Little is left to-day, at Culross and Pittenweem, Crail and Anstruther, of the busy traffic which tempted James V. to describe Fife as "a rough Scots blanket fringed with gold." The part of Scotland which profited most from the Union was undoubtedly the west,

and especially the city of Glasgow. Other towns in the west, such as Dumfries and Ayr and Dunbarton, had an equal opportunity with the ancient archbishop's burgh on the Clyde. Indeed, Glasgow had many handicaps, chiefly by reason of its inland position. But the imagination, shrewdness, and enterprise of its citizens enabled them to see and seize the happy chance. As the trade with America opened to them, they rose to the occasion, and began to lay the foundations of a great business overseas.

This development of trade did not, of course, come about quite immediately. In common with the other royal burghs of the country, Glasgow continued for some time to suffer from severe depression. The Union at first, indeed, rather increased than diminished its burdens. Of the four burghs, Glasgow, Rutherglen, Renfrew, and Dunbarton, which united to send a member to Parliament, Glasgow was much the most important. Probably for this reason, at the first election, on 26th May, 1708, the Provost of Glasgow, Robert Rodger, was chosen as representative,¹ and from that date onward constant entries appear in the records of considerable sums paid by the city for its Provost's attendance in London.

That attendance had a serious effect upon the private fortunes of at least one worthy citizen upon whom this somewhat doubtful honour was conferred. In 1716, after the death of Thomas Smith, merchant and Dean of Guild, who had represented the four burghs in Parliament for several years, his widow was reduced to petition the magistrates and council for assistance on the ground that her husband's attention to public business, and frequent long absences in London, had brought about the neglect and decay of his private affairs, so that nothing remained for the subsistence of herself and her son. After enquiry the Town Council authorised the investment of 2000 merks for behoof of the boy, then seven years of age.²

¹ *Burgh Records*, 25th May, 1708.

² *Ibid.* 27th Aug. 1716.

The city itself, just after the Union, petitioned the Convention of Royal Burghs for help, and actually obtained a gratuity of 1000 merks on the curious ground of respect for Robert Rodger, its Provost and Member of Parliament.³

The reading of the Council minutes gives one the impression from time to time that the city fathers of those days were by no means ashamed to "make a poor mouth" when the performance seemed likely to prove profitable. At the time of the Union, however, they seem to have had fair reason for their complaint. In an appeal made to the Convention of Burghs in 1711 against an addition of £1 10s. to the proportion of the tax roll payable by Glasgow, the commissioner for the city recounted some considerable disheartenments. He estimated that the city merchants had made a loss of more than £30,000 in their trading during the three previous years, and he pointed to the fact that during the current year they had lost four of their West India ships, and feared the loss of more.⁴

The population, nevertheless, continued to increase. According to the census ordered by the magistrates in 1708, a year after the Union, it was 12,766—only 818 more than it had been in 1688. But four years later, in 1712, it had increased to 13,832. In this latter year the rental of the built portion of the city was £7840 sterling, while that of the burgh roods, lands, mills, and New Green was £1068, altogether £8908 sterling.⁵ In the national tax roll of 1714, the proportion payable by Edinburgh was £40, that of Glasgow £16 14s., while Rutherglen's was 5s., Irvine's 12s., Rothesay's 4s., and Dunbarton's and Renfrew's 6s. each.⁶

As a matter of fact, though the city was suffering from serious depression at the beginning of the eighteenth century,

³ *Convention Records*, iv. 466.

⁴ *Ibid.* v. 7-9; *Burgh Records*, 30th Aug. 1711.

⁵ *Ibid.* 27th May, 1712; *Convention Records*, v. 54; *Brown's Hist.* ii. 88-97.

⁶ *Convention Records*, v. 139-40.

the seeds of prosperity had been sown and a spirit of enterprise was in the air. In 1699, for example, William Cochrane of Ochiltree, John Alexander of Blackhouse, William Dunlop, Principal of the University, Mungo Cochrane, merchant, and a number of others, applied to the Privy Council to have the privileges and immunities of a manufactory granted to a woollen mill they proposed to set up in Glasgow. Their intention was to produce damasks, half-silks, draughts, friezes, druggets, tartans, crapes, russets, etc., from Scottish wool, as good as any imported and "at as easie a rate," and they expected by this means to keep within the kingdom a vast sum of money—as much as £10,000 a year—then being sent abroad, chiefly to Ireland, for such stuffs.⁷

In the same year a similar application was made by a company of English traders, who had brought English workmen to the city, and proposed to set up a hardware factory for the production of such articles as pins, needles, scissors, scythes, tobacco boxes, and knives. And in the year following a company of Glasgow merchants applied for and received a licence for a factory of similar goods, by which they expected not only to retain much money within the country, but to give employment to "many poor and young boys who are in these hard and dear times a burden to the kingdom."

Then in February 1701 the privileges of a manufactory were granted to two other sets of petitioners. Matthew and Daniel Campbell, merchants in Glasgow, proposed to establish an additional sugar refinery, and in connection with it a work "for distilling brandy and other spirits from all manner of grain of the growth of this kingdom." For their purpose they had brought foreign experts to the city, and they pointed out that "the distillery will both be profitable for the consumption of the product of this kingdom, and for trade for the coast of Guinea and America, seeing that no trade can be managed to

⁷ *Reg. Priv. Council*, 21st Dec. 1699.

the places foresaid, or the East Indies, without great quantities of the foresaid liquors."

The other proposal which received the sanction of the Privy Council was for a soap-work in connection with a glass-work. A Glasgow merchant, James Montgomery, younger, pointed to the cost and hazard of bringing bottles from works at Leith and Morison's Haven to the west country. He also pointed to the abundance, in the West Highlands, of ferns and wood ashes, "which serve for little or no other use, and may be manufactured, first into good white soap, which is nowhere made in the kingdom to perfection, and the remains of these wood ashes, after the soap is made, is a most excellent material for making glass." ⁸

Instances like these show that the spirit of industrial enterprise was already kindling in Glasgow, and waiting only the breath of opportunity to burst into vigorous flame. Meanwhile several of the matters which came up for decision in the management of the public affairs of the city throw interesting light on the everyday life of the time.

One of the most serious blemishes in the public life of the early eighteenth century is more than hinted at again and again in the burgh records of Glasgow. Officials of the Government were clearly not above accepting gifts from parties bringing requests and disputes before them. The value of the gifts, too, appears to have become more considerable as time went

⁸ *Reg. Priv. Council*, 1701. Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, iii. 126-8. Two of the persons chiefly concerned with these proposals were among the most notable Glasgow citizens of that time. Daniel Campbell of Shawfield was the future M.P. for the city, who built, before 1712, the famous Shawfield Mansion opposite the Stockwell in Trongate, which was to play a considerable part in Glasgow history, and who afterwards with its compensation money purchased the island of Islay. Mungo Cochrane was the purchaser, along with Andrew Gibson of Hillhead, of the great estates of the unfortunate Provost Walter Gibson. He was also lessee of the city's great property of Provan, part of which, at Riddrie, he enclosed with a stone wall. He had, besides, many other prosperous interests in Glasgow.—*Burgh Records*, 19th Dec. 1712, etc.

on. Evidently the city fathers and their agents in Edinburgh in the seventeenth century were fully assured that business could be expedited, and probably decided in their favour, by a timely gift to the persons in authority, and there are accordingly frequent entries of payments for a keg of herrings and the like, sent as presents to " the town's friends." After the seat of government was removed to London a keg of herrings was apparently no longer regarded as a sufficient gift. A hogshead of wine was now *de rigueur*, and the hogshead cost two hundred merks (£11 5s. sterling).⁹

Another questionable proceeding, which might have proved dangerous to the liberties of the burgh if carried too far, was a disposition to grant valuable public favours at the mere request of some nobleman or person of importance. Thus again and again individuals were admitted to burgess rank and privileges, without payment, at the desire of personages like the Duke of Montrose, Lord Pollok, and the Duchess of Hamilton.¹⁰ Among these personages the Duchess of Hamilton had a special pull upon the city by reason of the fact that she was High Sheriff of Lanarkshire, and so entitled to act as returning officer at the election of a member of Parliament by the four burghs of Glasgow, Dunbarton, Renfrew, and Rutherglen.¹

By virtue of the ownership of Provan the magistrates and Town Council also claimed the right to appoint a commissioner to vote for a member of Parliament for the county. This right

⁹ *Burgh Records*, 18th Sept. 1707.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 17th Sept., 18th Dec. 1707; 1st Jan., 1st Oct. 1709; 30th Sept. 1710.

¹ *Ibid.* 24th Oct. 1710. The Duchess had also a claim upon the goodwill of the city by reason of her gift, already noted (page 49), of 18,000 merks for college bursaries. This great lady was the last of the original house of Hamilton. By her marriage to a younger son of the first Marquess of Douglas her titles and estates passed into possession of that great house, and on the extinction of the senior line, in the person of the Duke of Douglas in 1760, her descendant inherited the honours and chiefship of the Douglasses, which the Duke of Hamilton holds at the present day. The Duchess died in 1716.

was refused on one occasion, the landed heritors probably resenting the intrusion of burgh influence into county affairs. It is indignantly recorded in the Town Council minutes that "at the last meeting of the freeholders of the said shire at Lanark for electing of their commissioner to serve in the ensuing parliament the commissioner for this burgh was most unjustly and illegally turned out, and the vote for this burgh as freeholder of the lands of Provan refused to be received by a majority, of whom several were not qualified conform to law."² The magistrates took measures, however, to enforce the burgh's right, and were apparently successful, for, at the next election, Thomas Smith, Dean of Guild, was appointed, "for the lands of Provan and others," to attend a meeting of the barons and freeholders at Lanark to elect a "commissioner," or member of Parliament for the county.³

It will be noted that the people at large had no voice in the election of their representatives. Democracy had at one time been the order of affairs, but had been found wanting, and had been abolished. Down to the year 1469 the whole community had voted in the election of the Town Council. An Act of Parliament in that year, however, narrated "the gret trubel and contensione" which occurred at elections, "throw multitud and clamor of commonis sympil personis," and ordered that at the yearly elections thereafter the old Town Council should choose the new. A full account of the method of election was furnished in 1711 in response to an order of the Convention of Royal Burghs, that each royal burgh should send in its "sett," the rules under which it conducted its election. According to this "sett," the Glasgow Town Council then consisted of a provost, three bailies, thirteen councillors of the merchant rank, and twelve of the trades rank. There were a dean of guild, a deacon-convener, a treasurer, and a master of work, who might be chosen either from the members of council

² *Burgh Records*, 27th Oct. 1713.

³ *Ibid.* 22nd Feb. 1715.

or from outside. In the latter case they became additional members of council. The elections began on the first Tuesday after Michaelmas, and were continued on the following Friday and Wednesday. First the old council elected the new provost and two bailies out of the merchant rank, and one bailie out of the crafts rank ; then the new provost and bailies, with the provosts and bailies of the two previous years, and others brought in, if necessary, to make up the number of twelve, chose thirteen merchants and twelve craftsmen as councillors, and afterwards the new magistrates and councillors, along with the deacons of the fourteen crafts and an equal number of merchants, chose the dean of guild, the deacon-convener, the treasurer, the master of work, the bailie of Gorbals, the water bailie, and remaining office-bearers.⁴

⁴ *Ibid.* 22nd Oct. 1711.

CHAPTER X

TOWN COUNCIL ACTIVITIES

AMONG the questions which came up for decision by the Town Council immediately after the Union was the dispute between the barbers and surgeons. In 1656 these practitioners had, on their joint application, been erected into a craft, with a deacon of their own, by the city fathers. Since then, however, serious differences had grown up between them. The surgeons had come to regard themselves as of higher qualifications than the barbers, and to resist the claim of the barbers to admit to the craft, and to the practice of surgery, individuals who had not proved their possession of these qualifications. Apparently the surgeons had been inclined to carry matters with a high hand, and to exclude from membership of the craft men of the more humble calling.

It was a delicate question for the Town Council to settle, for the barbers still performed certain of the simpler operations of surgery, such as blood-letting. But the Council, after hearing the report of a committee, decided very wisely. All the qualified barbers who had been excluded were to be admitted to the craft, and their apprentices were to be "booked" from the date of their indentures. At the same time the barbers were to take no part in judging the qualifications of surgeons for admission to the craft, and barbers and surgeons were to have equal rights to vote and to hold office.¹ Thus was patched up for a time the rent which in the end was to separate the

¹ *Burgh Records*, 16th Sept. 1707 ; 4th Jan. 1714.

learned profession of surgery from the humbler business of the barber of later times.

Further calls for the exercise of wise judgment arose out of the custom of the time by which the Town Council fixed the prices of the various necessities of life, such as candles and ale and bread. The advocates of a similar practice at the present day—the control of prices by public authority—may find much to interest them in the working of the system in the eighteenth century.

In October 1707 the magistrates and council ordered that the twelve-penny loaf should weigh 14 ounces, and that the price of candles should be 46s. 8d. per stone. In each case they appear to have fixed an impossible price. The candle-makers were the first to show their disapproval. Michael Smith, in the presence of the council, "in a rude and unbecoming way," declared that he would not obey the statute, while Archibald Allason as boldly stated that he would evade the order by going to live in the Gorbals, buying his tallow elsewhere than from the fleshers of the burgh, and making his candles and selling them as he chose. To secure obedience the magistrates imprisoned the rebellious candle-makers in the Tolbooth, and it was only after a month's seclusion that they agreed to obey the edict of the council.

The bakers were less violent and more successful in their protest. They took pains to show that, as the price of wheat had risen to £10 Scots per boll, it was not possible to make the 12d. loaf of the weight ordered. The magistrates then reconsidered the facts, and found it advisable to reduce the weight of the loaf to "eleven ounces and three drops."²

In similar fashion modern ideas as to a common responsibility for the upkeep of roads and bridges were forestalled two hundred years before the era of tar macadam. In 1712 the Town Council agreed to contribute to the repair of Inchbelly bridge

² *Ibid.* 11th Oct. 1707; 22nd Jan. 1708.

and of the road between it and Kilsyth, which had become impassable under the traffic between Glasgow and Edinburgh. They also, on the representation of the Earl of Wigtown, agreed to join in a petition to Parliament for the rebuilding of the bridge at Kirkintilloch, which had been destroyed by a great flood. For the repair of Calder bridge, one end of which was in Stirlingshire and the other in Lanarkshire, they agreed to contribute £5 sterling. They paid John Campbell of Blythswood £5 sterling towards laying a causeway at Inchinnan. For the rebuilding of bridges in Upper Clydesdale, which carried the traffic to England, they paid William Baillie of Littlegill £10 sterling, on condition that the inhabitants of Glasgow should be allowed to pass free of toll. And they even sent £10 to Elgin to help in the building of a harbour at Lossiemouth.³

In the absence also of any such device as insurance against fire, the Town Council again and again, as in the case of the widow of John Anderson of Dowhill, granted a sum of money to help the rebuilding of a tenement, and even to help the owner of the damaged property if in straits.⁴

From first to last the magistrates maintained a lively interest in education. The Grammar School was, of course, their particular care, and they did not hesitate to cashier the "doctors," or masters there, if their services proved unsatisfactory. In 1717 they summarily discharged the second and third doctors, and directed Mr. George Skirvin, the rector, to write to a schoolmaster in Bathgate, whom they proposed to appoint as second "doctor," in place of one of the dismissed. But they also took a wider purview. The fortunes of the city were largely on the sea, and by way of securing the necessary supply of skilled ship-masters the city fathers agreed to pay

³ *Burgh Records*, 24th Jan. 1712; 27th Feb. 1713; 4th Jan. and 2nd July, 1714; 3rd Jan. 1717; 16th Oct. 1708.

⁴ *Ibid.* 24th Jan. and 27th May, 1712.

one James Muir a yearly "pension," or allowance, of £100 Scots for his encouragement in teaching mathematics and navigation in the burgh.⁵ Three years later they commissioned the provost, while in London, to secure a teacher of writing, arithmetic, and book-keeping, and they agreed to pay the man thus secured, a certain Thomas Mew, a salary of twenty pounds for the first year and fifteen pounds for each year afterwards.⁶ And again, on the suggestion of the principal of the University, and "for the good of the place," one John Grandpre was induced to come from Edinburgh and open a school for the teaching of French, at a salary of £12 10s. sterling yearly.⁷

At the same time the Town Council was not less active and efficient in maintaining its vested rights. A notable occurrence of those years was the attempt of the inhabitants of Gorbals to act as an independent community. As feuars on the burgh's property they were thirled to the town's mills. That is, they were obliged to have their malt and other grain ground at these mills, and in this way to contribute to the "Common Good" of the city. In 1715, however, they proceeded to set up a mill of their own, and to use it for the grinding of their malt.

It was the first beginning of a recalcitrance which might have led to the setting up of an independent community on the opposite bank of the Clyde. But the Town Council was equal to the occasion. It promptly withdrew from the inhabitants of Gorbals the valuable privilege of crossing Glasgow bridge free of toll, and it directed the bailie of Gorbals to withdraw the permission to keep a school in the town's chapel or prison in Gorbals, which was to return to its use as a prison only. These measures helped to bring the feuars of Gorbals to reason, and their case became still further urgent when they saw the road through their village sink deeper and deeper in mire for lack of means to repair it properly.

⁵ *Ibid.* 18th Sept. 1707.

⁶ *Ibid.* 19th Aug. 1710.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1st April, 1714.

It was not, however, till two years later, on the intervention of two lords of justiciary and a lord of session, Sir John Maxwell of Pollok, that the quarrel was finally settled. On the Gorbals feuars promising before these lords, who were "all justices of the peace," to return to the use of the town's mills, and also to cart the necessary stones and sand, the magistrates and council agreed to repair and causeway the main road through the village.⁸

Shortly before this the lords of justiciary were required to intervene in another curious Glasgow affair. In a circuit court at Jedburgh, eight gipsies, six of them women, some of them aged, and one of them with a child, had been sentenced to be transported to the plantations, as "habit and repute gipsies, sorners, etc." They had been brought to Glasgow and lodged in the Tolbooth to await shipment, but no shipowner or shipmaster would take them on the mere prospect of receiving payment for them from the colonists. Glasgow promptly complained of the burden of supporting criminals with whose delinquencies the city had no concern, and the lords of justiciary, considering that it would cost more to keep the gipsies in prison than to pay for their transport, agreed to expend £13 for their passage to Virginia. The merchants who agreed to accept the freight were James Lees, Charles Crawford, and Robert Buntine of Ardoch, and the Border nomads were duly embarked on the good ship *Greenock*, James Watson, commander, and sent to form a part of the population of the New World.⁹

No more than two months after this incident the Tolbooth was apparently the scene of another occurrence, which may have furnished Sir Walter Scott with the suggestion for the scene in his romance of *Rob Roy*, which has made the old prison and court-house of Glasgow famous for all time. The Highland

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 12th Apr. 1715; 21st May, 1717.

⁹ *Ibid.* 1st Jan. 1715.

cateran might quite well, indeed, have been the actual moving cause of the incident. In the year 1715 he was, as a matter of fact, at the height of his activities, and the novelist was not exercising much stretch of fancy in making him appear mysteriously in the Tolbooth of Glasgow.

The incident which Scott describes seems to have been pretty much the incident which actually occurred. All the world remembers how Rob Roy's henchman, " the Dougal Cratur," as turnkey of the prison, first secured his chief's escape from the dungeon, and then returned to throw his keys with derision and defiance at Bailie Nicol Jarvie's feet. The actual sequel to the story would seem to be furnished by the Town Council records. These narrate that the town's jailor, James Montgomery, had made a habit of absenting himself from his post, and had entrusted the keeping of the prison to a servant who had given no guarantee for his good faith. The behaviour of that servant had proved unsatisfactory, and the magistrates had found it necessary to place the keys in the hands of one of the town's officers. The Town Council thereupon required Montgomery to find caution within a week, both for himself and for any new servant he might appoint, on pain of immediate dismissal from his post. With this demand the jailor immediately complied, among his sureties being such well-known personages as Sir James Hamilton of Rosehall, Colin Campbell of Blythswood, John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, and John Wallace of Elderslie.¹⁰ Sir Walter Scott, in one of his many visits to Glasgow, may have been told details of the occurrence which have now been forgotten. The incident seems to be only another proof of the closeness with which the Waverley Novels, even in matters of minor detail, were founded on historic fact.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 28th March and 12th April, 1715.

CHAPTER XI

GLASGOW IN "THE '15"

ALL other actions necessary for carrying on the affairs of the city were now to be called upon to give place to the first and supreme duty of all good government, an effort to protect the community from the threatened attack of an outside enemy.

On 1st August, 1714, Queen Anne died. Had her half-brother James been of a more energetic and enterprising disposition, or had he been inclined to adopt the Protestant faith, he might have made an immediate bid for the throne, which would not have been without some prospects of success. But he was none of these things. He let the psychological and vital moment pass. Thenceforth he was to be no more than "the Chevalier" or "the Pretender," according to the politics of the parties who made use of his name. His second cousin, the Elector of Hanover, great-grandson of James VI., and a Protestant, was duly proclaimed in Scotland on 4th August as King George I., and landed at Greenwich to assume the crown on 17th September.

When the royal proclamation was made in Glasgow an incident occurred which brought some discredit on the city. Part of the crowd present on the occasion made its way to a church where the English liturgy was used, and tore it down. The outrage was brought to the notice of the Lords of the Regency, who directed the Lord Advocate to make strict enquiry into the matter, as outrages of the kind had been

frequent of late in the west of Scotland ; but the perpetrators were never discovered.¹ Among the Jacobites the incident was cited as an evidence of the intolerance of the Hanoverian party, while by the supporters of the Government it was declared to be a put-up affair, designed to throw discredit on the party of King George. Possibly it was nothing but a late demonstration of the Covenanters' intolerance of Episcopacy. Similar riotous outrages took place at the same time in England. There, however, it was the Jacobite mob which burned the chapels of dissenters and plundered the houses of their ministers.²

Almost immediately, however, the city fathers had the possibility of much more serious trouble to consider.

From the first, Glasgow had made quite clear its intention to support the Protestant succession to the Crown in the person of King George. In April 1714, when it was reported that the Elector's son, Prince George Augustus, was about to visit Britain, the magistrates had sent him a loyal letter with a burgess ticket conferring the freedom of the city, and on 16th August, after his father's accession, the Prince had graciously accepted the gift, writing from Hanover in French, and signing himself " George, Duke of Cambridge." Next, on 1st October, a fortnight after his landing in this country, the city sent King George himself a loyal address.

By the month of August in the following year the country had become full of the rumours of coming rebellion. The Earl of Mar, indignant that the seals of office as Secretary of State for Scotland had been taken from him and given to the Duke of Montrose, and alarmed at the coldness with which his too effusive protestations of loyalty were received at court, had fled, disguised as a seaman, in a coal gabbart to Scotland, and summoned the Highland chiefs to a great hunting at Braemar, to consider plans for a rising.

¹ Hill Burton, viii. 252.

² *Tales of a Grandfather*, iii. chap. vi.

On the very day, the 26th of August, on which that gathering was held, with all its menace to the House of Hanover, the Provost of Glasgow reported the issue of a very pretty compliment which the city had paid to the Princess of Wales. Following the expressions of regard which had already passed between the Prince and Princess of Wales and the Town Council, the magistrates had taken occasion to send the Princess a gift of some pairs of the best plaids manufactured in the city. These plaids were presented in person by Mr. Smith, the city's member of Parliament, who was introduced into the royal presence by the Duke of Montrose. The gift was most graciously received by Her Royal Highness, a fact duly reported to the Town Council, both by the Duke and the member of Parliament.

It has been customary for narrators of this incident to set it down as nothing better than an astute device to advertise the city's wares ; but there can be little question that, in view of the circumstances, it was something more disinterested, a gesture and assurance of loyalty when such a gesture and assurance were most needed, and most likely to be desired. If proof of this were required it is furnished by another gesture of the magistrates and Town Council reported at the same meeting. In view of " a designed invasion from abroad, signified by his Majesty's royal proclamations," the magistrates had called a meeting of the citizens " to concert measures most proper for their own security and the defence of his Majesty, and his government, and of our religion, laws, and liberties." At that meeting it had been resolved to address King George with an offer to provide a regiment of five hundred men, with ten captains and other officers, and to maintain it for sixty days at the city's expense. The offer had been presented to the King by the Duke of Montrose, and had been " very graciously received as a seasonable testimony of the city of Glasgow's singular zeal and affection." His Majesty, however, intimated

that he did not desire to put the city to so heavy a charge, and believed that his own arrangements already made would sufficiently secure the safety of the kingdom.³

Almost immediately, nevertheless, the situation assumed a more serious aspect. On 6th September the Earl of Mar raised the standard of "James VIII. and III." in his own country on the upper Dee. The Jacobite gentry in the east and north of Scotland were known to be raising their vassals. And a plan was actually formed, and all but proved successful, for the surprise and capture of Edinburgh Castle. But for the folly of some of the conspirators and the treachery of others, the wall of the fortress above the sally port where Dundee had climbed to interview the Duke of Gordon on a memorable occasion twenty-six years before, would have been scaled, and the stronghold, with its great store of arms, ammunition, and treasure, secured for the Jacobite rebels.

The attempt was made on 8th September. On that same day the Duke of Argyll, as commander-in-chief and general of the army in Scotland, attended to receive his final instructions from King George at St. James's, and next morning set off to take command of the forces in North Britain. These, he found, amounted to no more than 1800 men—four regiments of foot of 257 men each, and four of cavalry of 200 men each. These General Wightman had wisely concentrated at Stirling, the key of the passage between the north of Scotland and the south; and the Duke, who arrived at Edinburgh on 14th September, at once began to collect reinforcements.

The place upon which he set most reliance in this matter, and the town to which he made his first appeal, was Glasgow. Immediately on reaching the capital he wrote a friendly letter to the Provost, saying he understood that the city had "a

³ *Burgh Records*, 26th Aug. 1715. In his letter on this occasion the Duke both began and ended by addressing the provost as "My Lord." Lord Townshend still more pointedly used the term.

considerable number of well-armed men ready to serve his Majesty," and asking that a body of 500 or 600 be sent to Stirling under such officers as the magistrates and council might think fit to entrust with the command.⁴

The city promptly responded, and despatched a regiment of ten strong, well-officered companies, numbering between 600 and 700 men, under Colonel Blackadder, which reached Stirling on the 19th. This welcome reinforcement was cordially welcomed by the Duke, who reported the city's loyal promptitude to the King, with the result that the Provost—named "my lord" in all these communications from the Court—received a special letter of royal approval.⁵

In the Duke's own letter of thanks he made the suggestion that the fencible men of the towns and districts round Glasgow should be embodied and brought together in the city. Again the magistrates took prompt action, and sent out letters to the neighbouring towns. Paisley was the first to respond and send in a contingent. It was followed by Kilmarnock, which had been alarmed by the sudden appearance on Sunday, 18th September, of two Glasgow citizens who vividly pictured the sudden descent of the Highland clans on the west country. In consequence, next morning, at daybreak, the townsmen met, and despatched a body of 220 men, who were followed, a day later, by the Earl of Kilmarnock, at the head of his tenantry, 130 strong.⁶

To complete the arming of the Glasgow men at Stirling and of others willing to serve, Provost Bowman procured an order from Argyll and brought four hundred firelocks and cartridge boxes from Edinburgh Castle.⁷ Otherwise the equipment and maintenance of the Glasgow contingent, which remained on garrison and field duty at Stirling for ten weeks, were paid for by the city. To meet this immediate expense the Town

⁴ Hill Burton, viii. 273.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 12th Oct. 1715.

⁶ Hill Burton, viii. 273.

⁷ *Burgh Records*, 12th Oct. 1715.

Council, after consulting the Merchants and Trades Houses, borrowed the sum of £500 sterling.⁸

But the payment of its armed force was not the only expense forced upon the city by the Jacobite rising. On the advice of the Duke of Argyll, lines of entrenchment were hastily drawn round the town, substantial barricades were erected, and cannon were mounted for the defence of the place. After the defeat of the Jacobite army at Sheriffmuir, also, the city was burdened with the maintenance of 353 prisoners in the Bishop's Castle. These prisoners, it appears, required a guard of no fewer than one hundred men.⁹

In the actual fighting at the battle of Sheriffmuir on Sunday, 13th November, the Glasgow levies suffered no loss. Though their able commander, Colonel Blackadder, declared them fit for action in the field, they were, greatly to his chagrin, appointed to the charge of keeping Stirling bridge.¹⁰ The duty, though not exciting, was important enough, for it safeguarded the only avenue of retreat to Argyll's force, which was no more than four thousand strong, should it be overpowered by Mar's Highland army, at least three times its size.

As all the world knows, however, even the victorious right wing of the Highland army never swung further south than Dunblane. Though the Glasgow contingent remained in arms for another month, it saw no further service. By the middle of December Argyll's army was reinforced by British regiments, 6000 strong, which had been serving in Holland, and the Glasgow levies were allowed to go home.

Under the expert military direction of Colonel Maxwell of Cardoness the city kept up its preparations for defence till 9th February. There was the possibility to be guarded against of a raid by the Macgregors and other clansmen of the near Highlands. These clansmen had made an actual threatening

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 29th Oct. 1715.

⁹ *Ibid.* 12th Dec. 1715.

¹⁰ *Life of Colonel Blackadder*, ch. xix.

demonstration on Loch Lomondside, where a military expedition had to be organised against them by the inhabitants of Dunbarton.¹ And it had been necessary to maintain a garrison at the house of Gartartan, near Aberfoyle, to check any descent through the western passes.²

It was not till the month of February that all danger was deemed over. By that time the colourless "James VIII. and III.," who had landed seasick at Peterhead, too late to be of any use, had sailed again for France with his futile general, the Earl of Mar, leaving their followers to shift for themselves, and Argyll, marching to Aberdeen, had dispersed the last of the Jacobite army without firing a shot. That was on 8th February, 1716. On the 9th Glasgow ceased military precautions, and upon parting with Colonel Maxwell of Cardoness, presented him, as a token of gratitude for his services, with a silver tankard "weighting fourty eight unce thirteen drop, at seven shillings starline per unce, and a set of suggar boxes, weighting ninetein unce fourtein drop, at eight shillings per unce, and a server wing weighting thirty one unce and twelve drop at six shilling and four pence per unce."³ The entire cost of the gift, according to the council minutes, was £35 1s. 9d. sterling, and it was accompanied with an expression of the town's "favour and respect" for the colonel's good service.

This, however, was merely an item in the expense entailed upon the city by Mar's rebellion. Long lists of payments made by the burgh treasurer for various services, losses, and the like, appear from time to time in the council's minutes. There are charges for cartage of stones for the barricades, and cartage of the volunteers' baggage to Stirling, £16 16s. for the funeral of Walter Therms, who died at Stirling of his wounds, freight of the great guns from Port-Glasgow, express from the Highlands with news that the clans were in arms, express to Ayr with an

¹ Hill Burton, viii. 281; Irving's *Dunbartonshire*, p. 231.

Hill Burton, viii. 274.

³ *Burgh Records*, 12th March, 1716.

officer sent to Ireland with orders for the regiments there to come to Scotland, tools and labour at the trenches, watching the guns at night, straw and water barrels for the prisoners at the castle, 5000 flint stones sent to Stirling ; ale, coal, and candles for the town's guards ; firelocks and bayonets, large quantities of gunpowder, etc. Besides the amount paid by the inhabitants for the subsistence of the six hundred volunteers sent to Stirling, the expenditure amounted to £19,987 12s. 4d. Scots, or £1665 13s. 2d. sterling.⁴

As might be expected, Glasgow itself was not without sympathisers with the Jacobite cause. Or perhaps, as in all wars, there were persons in the city willing to make profit out of supplying arms to the enemy. At anyrate, in May 1715, three months before the rebellion broke out, it came to the knowledge of Provost Aird that arms were being put on board a vessel at the Broomielaw for shipment to the Highlands. Going in person to the harbour he found there, about to be shipped on board a boat of which, significantly, a Highlander named Macdonald was master, three chests of firelocks, bayonets, and pistols. These the Provost promptly confiscated, and lodged in the Tolbooth, and, when the Jacobite rising presently took place, they were used to equip certain of the Glasgow volunteers sent to join Argyll's forces at Stirling.⁵

Altogether Glasgow must be held to have come with ample credit out of the trying emergency of the first Jacobite rebellion.

⁴ *Ibid.* 23rd Dec. 1717.

⁵ *Ibid.* 16th Feb. 1716.

CHAPTER XII

THE RISE OF INDUSTRY AND TRADE

THE menace of the Jacobite rising having been removed, Glasgow began to gather its resources for the wonderful advance it was to make in commerce and industry in the eighteenth century. The adoption of English or sterling coinage and of English weights and measures, following the Union, helped this movement substantially. The Scottish coinage, which was about one-twelfth of the value of sterling, did not cease to be used, but as time went on payments came to be made more and more frequently in the more valuable form. The absolute necessity, at that time, of making certain under which denomination a payment was to be made is to be seen in the fact that all sums of money were definitely stated in the public and other accounts to be either "sterling" or "Scots," and an inclination lingers in Scotland till the present day, to make quite certain, in writing a cheque, that the payment is to be made in "sterling."

In the matter of weights and measures, as might be expected, there was some confusion, and there would no doubt be individuals willing to profit by the doubt as to whether a bargain was concluded for Scots or English measure. In Glasgow a memorial was presented to the Dean of Guild by a number of merchants, drawing attention to the discouragement of trade brought about by this dubiety. Country people, it was pointed out, were being ensnared by reason of their lack

of foresight, in making bargains, to have it specified by what weight they were to receive the goods they bought. In consequence the magistrates and Town Council ordained that the new English weight and none other be used in the burgh in buying and selling all English and foreign goods.¹ Custom, in these matters, is notoriously difficult to change, and many of the ancient Scots measures remain in local use to the present day, but there can be no doubt that the adoption of standard English measures and weights for the purposes of general trade made the dealings of the Glasgow merchants much more simple and successful.

One of the first evidences of prosperity on the larger scale was the building of his famous mansion at the west port in Trongate, facing down the Stockwellgate, by Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, Member of Parliament for the Glasgow burghs.² The Shawfield Mansion, as it was called, was finished in 1711, and was the finest residence that Glasgow had yet seen. For his purpose, Campbell had bought a number of the maltkiln crofts and yards which were scattered over the region, and his mansion had a wide gravelled court on its Trongate front, and a great garden behind, stretching as far as the Back Cow Loan, which is now Ingram Street.³ It was to be the home of a succession of very notable Glasgow citizens and the scene of a number of remarkable events, which will be recounted later. Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that this noble mansion was built at the outpost of civilisation, so far as Glasgow was concerned. Shortly after it was built its owner called the attention of the magistrates to the fact that the "strand," "syre," or gutter of the road in front of his mansion was not acting properly to carry the storm water westward to St.

¹ *Burgh Records*, 27th May, 1712.

² Campbell was a leading Glasgow merchant. He took £1000 of stock in the Darien Company.

³ Mitchell's *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 18.

Tennoch's Burn.⁴ The request of a great man like the owner of the Shawfield Mansion was not to be treated lightly. An important committee was therefore appointed at once to enquire into the fault of the gutter, and forthwith at a cost of £200 Scots a substantial drain was laid, thirty ells long and one ell wide, paved in the bottom and covered above, "fore-gainst Shawfield's lodging."⁵ The Shawfield Mansion stood a short distance to the west of the fine Hutchesons' Hospital, which also had a garden stretching behind it to the Back Cow Loan.

As if conscious of its coming prosperity and rise in the world, the city was becoming more particular in matters of hygiene and taste. In 1715, in the midst of its preparations against the Earl of Mar's rising, it appointed John Black, at a salary of 400 merks yearly, to be keeper of the water wells within and without the "ports." These wells numbered ten, and included a group called the Four Sisters, the Lady Well, the Broomielaw Well, and the two wells in the New Green. Black was to furnish them with chains, buckets, sheaves, ladles, and other necessary graith, as well as with locks and iron bands. He was to "cleanse, muck, and keep them clean," and to lock and open them in due time, evening and morning. In case of failure he was liable to a penalty of £100 Scots.⁶ This was the first attempt made, on a comprehensive scale, to safeguard the water supply of the growing city.

Shortly afterwards the council published by tuck of drum a final ordinance against the making of middens in the city streets or lanes. Public taste was improving, and frequent complaints were being made against the habit of certain of the citizens in actually gathering and manufacturing the most

⁴ In this entry in the Council minutes may be seen the transition in progress of the ancient "St. Theneu's" to the modern St. Enoch's in the place-names of the neighbourhood.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 7th Aug. 1712; 4th Jan. 1714.

⁶ *Ibid.* 3rd Sept. 1715.



THE SHAWFIELD MANSION.

From water-colour drawing by Thomas Fairbairn.

primitive form of fertiliser on the roadway in front of their houses. The middens were evidently of some value, for part of the penalty for allowing them to remain above forty-eight hours on the public thoroughfare was that the offender should "forfeit, ammitt, and lose the said dung." If anyone, the proprietor, for instance, attempted to hinder the removal of "the said dung," he was to be fined £5 Scots, and imprisoned for forty-eight hours. At the same time the council forbade the casting out of windows upon the public streets, lanes, or closes, of "any jawings, filth, or dirt." It was in fact an end, so far as Glasgow was concerned, to the fearsome "gardyloo" fashion of disposing of various liquid and other abominations which prevailed in Edinburgh for another sixty years.⁷

Aware that its future must largely depend upon overseas commerce, the city jealously guarded the rights of the ocean gateway it had built at the mouth of the Clyde. Though Sir John Shaw succeeded in 1694 in procuring an order from the Lords of Treasury to transfer the customhouse from Port-Glasgow to his own burgh of Greenock, which he was taking such pains to foster, the magistrates and council exerted themselves with such promptitude and vigour that the order was recalled, and the customhouse returned to its original location in less than a month.⁸ When, again, the Synod of Argyll was making an effort to have certain parishes in the Presbytery of Paisley, including Port-Glasgow, transferred to itself, the magistrates effectively opposed the project. The inconvenience of attending church courts at Inveraray, instead of Paisley, would, they conceived, make it difficult for them to secure a minister for the Port-Glasgow kirk.⁹ And yet again, when the Earl of Glencairn, as patron of the original parish in which the

⁷ *Ibid.* 12th Oct. 1717. From one of the incidents included in Hogarth's well-known picture, "Night," it is evident that the "gardyloo" custom was not peculiar to our Scottish cities, but was the rule also in London in the middle of the eighteenth century.

⁸ *Ibid.* 14th Feb., 13th March, 26th March, 1694. ⁹ *Ibid.* 8th March, 1711.

new harbour town was planted, claimed the right of presenting a minister to the church there, the city fathers brought an action before the Lords of Session, and secured a decree by which, for payment of six hundred merks, the Earl gave up all right of patronage in the church at Port-Glasgow, "with the haill emoluments, profits, or duties of the same."¹⁰

A distinct sign of the awakening spirit of enterprise may be read in the appearance of the first Glasgow newspaper. *The Glasgow Courant* published its first number on 14th November, 1715, the day after the battle of Sheriffmuir. Hitherto the city had been content with "news-letters" written in London, and payments had been made by the Town Council from time to time to the persons who supplied this written intelligence. The *Courant* set out to supply a demand for something more regular and comprehensive, and it was to be issued three times a week. The period, however, was not yet ripe for the venture. Perhaps the necessary experience and equipment were lacking. At its fourth number the name was changed to *West Country Intelligence*, and the venture came to an end in May 1716. It had made its bid, nevertheless, and must be taken as a token of development. A second newspaper, *The Glasgow Journal*, did not appear till 1741.¹

Alike in the matter of news and of business correspondence Glasgow was considerably handicapped by the postal arrangements of the time. All letters from London and the south went first to Edinburgh, and suffered long delays, as much at one time as twelve hours, before being despatched to the western city. It was not till 1788, when Palmer's mail coaches were established, that letters went direct to Glasgow.²

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 5th March, 1717.

¹ Graham, *Early Glasgow Press*, pp. 9-12.

² Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, iii. 125. The progress of Glasgow was very clearly reflected in the development of the city's postal arrangements. In 1694 a request was put forward to have three foot posts a week to Edinburgh. In 1709 the magistrates asked Lord Godolphin to establish a horse post between

Meanwhile several of the most enterprising merchants were establishing industries. In some cases they had peculiar difficulties to contend with. Robert Luke and William Harvey, for instance, set up a factory for the making of tapes, knittings, laces, belts, bindings, and the like, but after carrying it on for a few years were threatened with a stoppage of the undertaking by the Incorporation of Weavers, who declared the work to be an infringement of their rights as a burgess craft. The difficulty was of much the same nature as that raised by trade unions in the twentieth century, when objection is made to the men of one trade in a factory doing some piece of work for which the men of some other trade claim they should be called in. In the eighteenth century case both parties appealed to the magistrates and Town Council, who first referred the question to a committee and afterwards to the Trades House. As nothing more is heard of the dispute, it is probable that an amicable settlement was reached.³

In 1718, the year following this appeal, an industry was introduced which could not be held to infringe the privileges of any of the existing burgh crafts. James Duncan, a Glasgow printer, started a foundry for the making of type. It was Duncan who in 1736 printed the first *History of Glasgow*, by John McUre. The typography of that often-quoted work is by no means of the first class, but Duncan's enterprise set the example for the type-founding business of Alexander Wilson, begun in Glasgow in 1742, which provided the setting for the

the two cities. As all the correspondence with London went through Edinburgh, it will be seen to have been very limited indeed. At the Union the entire postage revenue of Scotland was no more than £1194. In 1781 the revenue from Glasgow alone had risen to £4341. The Glasgow post-office itself, to accommodate the city's growing needs, was moved successively from a small shop in Gibson's Wynd, now Princes Street, to St. Andrew's Street, Post-Office Court in Trongate in 1803, and Nelson Street in 1810. In 1840 it was removed to Glassford Street, and in 1879 to George Square.—*Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 439.

³ *Burgh Records*, 5th March and 12th April, 1717.

famous publications of the brothers Foulis, and helped to make Glasgow renowned for literary taste and fine scholarship throughout Europe.

But the main developments of Glasgow enterprise in those years following the Union were upon the sea. Chiefly by means of that enterprise, and the care and shrewdness with which it was carried on, the city became within a few years rich and prosperous, and Scotland within three-quarters of a century, from being one of the poorest countries in Europe, became one of the wealthiest.

The earliest ventures of the Glasgow merchants to Maryland and Virginia—those of Provost Walter Gibson and his partners—had been made in vessels chartered from Whitehaven. It was not till the year 1716 that the first vessel was built on the Clyde for the American trade. It was only of 60 tons, but already the trade in tobacco was growing to great importance. The method of the merchants was to freight the ship with goods likely to be in demand in the colonies. The master of the vessel, or, afterwards, when the trade seemed to warrant it, a supercargo, was instructed to sell the goods in America and load the ship with tobacco. There was thus a double profit on the voyage, and so thriftily was the business managed that wealth accumulated rapidly in the traders' hands.

Previously Bristol, Liverpool, and Whitehaven had been the chief entrepôts of the tobacco trade, but the Glasgow merchants by reason of their economical methods were able to undersell the merchants of these places. At first the English merchants were merely surprised to learn what Glasgow was doing. But presently, when they found the Glasgow importers underselling them even among their own retail customers, they became first alarmed, then indignant, and by and by, driven by jealous fear, they laid charges before the Commissioners of Customs at London against the honesty of the Glasgow traders. The accusation was that the merchants of Glasgow were importing

much larger quantities of tobacco than they paid duty for. To these charges, brought in the year 1717, the merchants of Glasgow sent such answers that the Commissioners declared the complaints of the English merchants to be entirely without foundation, and to be entirely due to jealousy of the growing tobacco trade of the city on the Clyde.

Four years later the tobacco merchants of Liverpool, Whitehaven, and London returned to the attack, and laid an accusation before the Lords of the Treasury arraigning the merchants of Glasgow as guilty of fraud in submitting their accounts for the purpose of taxation. Again the accusation was met and rebutted, and after a full and impartial hearing was declared to be groundless, and to have arisen "from a spirit of envy, and not from a regard to the interest of trade, or of the King's revenue."

But the resources of the English merchants were not yet at an end. In a spirit which was anything but sporting they had a complaint brought before the House of Commons by their members. As a result commissioners were sent to Glasgow in 1722, who made a report to the House in the following year. To the new charges the Glasgow merchants sent up distinct and explicit answers, but the English merchants were able to exert so much influence that the answers were disregarded. New customs officers were appointed at the ports of Greenock and Port-Glasgow, who seem to have received private instructions to do all in their power to ruin the Glasgow trade. These officers put all manner of obstructions in the way, exhibiting bills of equity against the merchants at the Court of Exchequer for no fewer than thirty-three cargoes. Vexatious lawsuits of all kinds were brought against the traders, and every kind of malicious persecution which wealth could devise was practised in order to destroy the enterprise of the Scottish city.

These selfish and spiteful efforts proved only too successful. The tobacco trade of Glasgow languished under the persecution

for more than a decade. It was not till 1735 that it began to revive, and even then it could not be said to prosper for a considerable time.⁴

⁴ Gibson's *History of Glasgow*, 206-209. One of the charges brought against the Glasgow merchants was that the whole amount of the tobacco duty paid by them to Government between August 1716 and March 1722 was no more than £2702. Against this accusation the Glasgow merchants brought evidence to show that the amount paid was £38,047 17s. 0½d.—*Edin. Evening Courant*, 21st Jan. 1723.

CHAPTER XIII

SOCIAL LIFE AND MANNERS

IT is to be feared that the increase of prosperity which followed the Union tended to lessen the ecclesiastical fervour of the people of Glasgow, whose interest had previously been concentrated largely on affairs of the Church and religion. New fields of activity were opened up, and the world was becoming a wider place. There was less time and less inclination, therefore, for consideration of points of church government and religious doctrine. The Rev. Robert Wodrow, of the neighbouring Renfrewshire parish of Eastwood, and historian of the Covenanters, found occasion to regret the change. The increase of wealth, he perceived, had a tendency to abate the godly habits of the people. There was already a party in the city who were no longer inclined to pay absolute deference to ministers, and who were disposed to mock at serious things. Where there had been seventy-two prayer meetings in the year there were now only four or five, and in their stead there were meetings of secular clubs at which subjects of mere mundane interest were discussed. In view of this change Wodrow seems to have rather approved than otherwise the blow struck at the tobacco trade and the prosperity of the city by the jealous competitors in England. "This, they say, will be twenty thousand pounds loss to that place. I wish it may be sanctified to them!"¹

There was quite evidently a new process of development going on. Wodrow complains that young men who went

¹ Wodrow's *Analecta*, iii. 129.

abroad to hold mercantile positions, came home again with ideas modified by the customs of other countries. Church discipline was less reverently regarded and less devoutly submitted to than formerly, and after a noted "heresy hunt" of the time, carried through presbytery and synod against the too enlightened views of Professor Simson, some of the college lads had even gone the length of writing a play poking fun at the city clergy. Such a state of things, in the view of Mr. Wodrow, might be expected to bring upon the city some devastating stroke of Providence.²

Nevertheless, according to John Macky, the author of *A Journey through Scotland* in 1723, the city was soundly Presbyterian in religion, and "the best affected to the Government in Scotland." Regarding its commerce Macky said that there arrived from the plantations as many as "twenty or thirty ships every year, laden with tobacco and sugar, an advantage this kingdom never enjoyed till the Union." Glasgow itself he declared to be "the beautifullest little city I have seen in Britain," and he specially admired its regular and spacious streets and its houses "of equal height and supported with pillars," an allusion to the piazzas which were a feature of the buildings round the cross.

Edward Burt, the English engineer officer, who saw the city in 1726, declared it to be "the most uniform and prettiest" he had seen. "The houses," he said, "are faced with ashlar stone. They are well sashed, all of one model, and piazzas rise round them on either side, which gives a good air to the buildings."³

McUre's description of the city in 1736 is well known, with

² John Simson, professor of divinity—not to be confounded with Robert Simson, the celebrated professor of mathematics, was the subject of a "case" which occupied the church courts and the University authorities for many years. Its progress is fully detailed by Coutts in his *History of the University*, pp. 210-232.

³ Burt, *Letters*, i. 22.

its picture of the town "surrounded with cornfields, kitchen and flower gardens, and beautiful orchards, abounding with fruits of all sorts, which by reason of the open and large streets, send forth a pleasant and odoriferous smell." ⁴

Defoe in his *Tour* of 1727 describes the development of the previous twenty years. "Glasgow," he says, "is a city of business, and has the pace of foreign as well as of domestic trade. Nay, I may say, 'tis the only city in Scotland at this time that apparently increased in both. The Union has, indeed, answered its end to them more than to any other part of the kingdom, their trade being new formed by it; for as the Union opened the door to the Scots into our American colonies, the Glasgow merchants presently embraced the opportunity. . . . They now send their 50 sail ships every year to Virginia, New England, and other colonies in America."

The expense of living in the city at that time was very small, a fact which accounted to a considerable extent for the success of the tobacco traders in competing with their rivals in England. In 1708, the year after the Union, when the population numbered 12,766, nearly five hundred houses were untenanted, and the rents of the others were said to have fallen by nearly one-third. The highest rent then paid for a house was £100 Scots, or £8 6s. 8d. sterling. At the first valuation, four years later, the highest rent paid for a shop was £5 sterling and the lowest 12s., while for the 202 shops in the town the aggregate rent was no more than £623 15s. 4d. There were very few self-contained houses. Most, even of the well-known and wealthy citizens, lived only in a flat in a tenement. In 1712 three ladies of title, including the Countess of Glencairn, with seven others, occupied houses in "Spreull's Land" in Trongate, between Hutchesons' Hospital and the Shawfield Mansion, and therefore in the fashionable West End, and the highest rent paid by any of them was £10 3s. 4d.⁵

⁴ *History of Glasgow*, p. 122.

⁵ *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, pp. 12-15.

The habits of living in the city were correspondingly simple and frugal. For the small business community the day began early. At six o'clock in the morning the post arrived from Edinburgh. After 1717 it came on horseback. When it was ready for delivery the postmaster, whose salary was £12 a year, fired a gun to let the citizens know. When they had called for and looked at their correspondence, they returned to their houses, usually above their places of business, and enjoyed their breakfast of porridge, herring or an egg, and bannocks, with "swats" or small ale as the beverage. Then came the hours of business, when they bargained with customers in their little shops—it was always the business of the purchaser to "cheapen" an article—or sorted out, at the Broomielaw, goods suitable for the plantations for shipment to Port-Glasgow, or interviewed a bailie regarding the admission of a relative as a burgher "at the near hand," or negotiated the feu of a bit of the town's land for the building of a malt kiln. As noon drew near, some of the merchants might be seen at the half-door of their shops, exchanging a word with a neighbour or a passing customer; and when the bells in the steeple of the Tolbooth rang out their merry tune, there was an adjournment to the nearest tavern for a "meridian," and the exchange of news, much as an adjournment is made to some coffee-room in the twentieth century for a "coffee" and a word on some point of business with a friend.

Meanwhile the mistress of the house upstairs had been not less busy. First the barefoot servant lass went to the public well with her pair of wooden "stoups" on a hoop, and waited her turn to draw the supply of water for the day. Then, when the house had been "tidied up," and the breakfast dishes washed and put away, she might have to accompany her mistress with a basket to the markets near the cross for supplies of butter and eggs, a fowl to boil (costing threepence), a gigot of mutton, or a silver grilse (at a penny a pound) from the

Clyde.⁶ There was also, probably, in the house the "mart," or part of a bullock, salted down at Martinmas, which, boiled in broth or with curly greens from the kailyard, formed a never-failing standby. Fresh meat was rare in winter. Its arrival in the market was announced by sending the bellman through the streets.⁷

At the dinner hour, twelve or one o'clock, the merchants locked their shops and warehouses, and, with their apprentices, adjourned for the chief meal of the day. Dinner was a homely affair—broth made with barley and green vegetables (there were few root crops in those days), a bit of boiled beef, or, when the materials were available, a haggis, with, for beverage, again the inevitable "sma' yill."

The room in which the meal was served was often also a bedroom, with "enclosed beds," like cupboards in the wall. It was here also that the lady of the house entertained her guests at "four hours" in the afternoon, when they dropped in for a gossip over a "masking" of tea sipped out of fragile china cups without handles, the treasured possession of the hostess, which she carefully washed and put away with her own hands so soon as the visitors left. The single public room of the house was only used on very special occasions—marriages, funerals, and the like—and for the rest of the time remained gloomy and un-aired.⁸

According to Jupiter Carlyle, who, as a divinity student, spent the winters of 1743 and 1744 in Glasgow, "The manner of living," of the townspeople, "at this time, was but coarse and vulgar. Very few of the wealthiest gave dinners to anybody but English riders, or their own relations at Christmas

⁶ The public market, or area in which stalls were set up in the streets, extended from Bell's Wynd in High Street to Princes Street in Saltmarket, and from King Street in Trongate to the Molendinar bridge in Gallowgate. This was the only area in which unfreemen were allowed to expose their wares.

⁷ *Strang's Glasgow Clubs*, p. 15.

⁸ *New Stat. Account*, vi. 230; *Strang's Glasgow Clubs*, pp. 16 and 18 (notes).

holidays. There were not half a dozen families in town who had men-servants ; some of those were kept by the professors who had boarders. There were neither post-chaises nor hackney-coaches, and only three or four sedan-chairs for carrying mid-wives about in the night, and old ladies to church, or to the dancing assemblies once a fortnight.”⁹

Almost nothing is recorded of the life of an older nobility in the city, though the “ Duke’s Lodging ” at the corner of Drygate and High Street, on the spot where the great prison now stands, was for long the greatest mansion in the town, and from 1714 onwards, for some 160 years, the successive Dukes of Montrose were Chancellors of the University,¹⁰ while Mugdock Castle, near Milngavie, some five miles north of the city, was the chief messuage of the family till in 1682 the Duke, who was first Rob Roy’s partner and afterwards his enemy, bought Buchanan House and estate on Loch Lomondside from the creditors of the Chief of Buchanan.

At eight o’clock in the city shop and warehouse closed, and presently the merchants betook themselves to the cosy tavern parlours of the town, where they discussed the latest news over a modest bowl of punch. At nine o’clock they returned home for supper, family worship, and bed.

Such was the daily mode of life even of the most prosperous inhabitants of the city until the wealth that came in a golden stream from the great Virginia trade induced individuals to build stately mansions of a new order, and set up the civic aristocracy which was to become famous under the name of the “ Tobacco Lords.”

It is interesting to note that at least one of the businesses carried on in these conditions in the city of that time still flourishes in Glasgow. The business of Messrs. Austin &

⁹ *Autobiography*, p. 75.

¹⁰ Murray, *The Old College of Glasgow*, p. 41, and p. 8 (McArthur’s map of 1778).

McAslan, nurserymen and seedsmen, was started in the year 1717, and its first nursery was the acre or so of land forming the garden of Hutchesons' Hospital, and stretching from the original building in Trongate to the Back Cow Loan, now Ingram Street. The nursery was also used as a pleasure ground by the citizens. When it was at last, in 1795, laid out as Hutcheson Street, and the Hospital building was removed to its head, the nursery was transferred to the neighbourhood of the modern Parliamentary Road, where its existence is commemorated in the name of McAslan Street. Nothing could better testify to the purity of the atmosphere of Glasgow, in those early years of the eighteenth century, than the existence of this plant nursery in the Trongate.

The tavern held a much more important place in the life of the community than it has ever occupied since. Few bargains of importance were concluded without the sanction of a friendly dram. Professional men also found the tavern a convenient howff. There patients consulted their physicians; there lawyers advised their clients and drew up their wills;¹ even the town's business was largely transacted in these snug and hospitable resorts. So serious did the expenditure become in this last instance that more than once the Town Council found it necessary to make a rule that the public funds should not be liable for expenses incurred in taverns, unless with the express permission of the provost, senior bailie, or dean of guild. It was further stipulated that, at the treating of strangers, the provost or senior bailie must be present, and that the sum spent at any one time must not, upon any account, exceed £3 Scots (5s. 3d. sterling).²

The most lively element of the population was probably the student life, which had its headquarters in the handsome College buildings in High Street. In 1702 the students numbered

¹ Henry Grey Graham, *Social Life in Scotland*, p. 134.

² *Burgh Records*, 27th Sept. 1717.

402, and their scarlet gowns, as they moved about, made the brightest spot of colour in the streets. John Wesley, who visited the city at a later date, had a word to say about these garments. "The College students," he says, "wear scarlet gowns reaching only to their knees. Most I saw were very dirty, some very ragged, and all of very coarse cloth."³ In those days the gowns were still an article of practical apparel, and competed in the streets, a few years later, with the imposing scarlet cloaks of the Tobacco Lords.⁴

While a certain number of these students, bursars and others, lived within the College precincts, and were substantially if plainly fed at the common table, many lodged outside, and there are traditions of some subsisting with the utmost frugality on such provisions as a little oatmeal and a kebbuck of cheese, brought with them from far-off homes in Ayrshire or Argyll.

The apprentices of the merchants and craftsmen, with whom an occasional bickering of town and gown took place, were probably at least as well lodged and fed. They were looked upon as the natural successors of their masters, not only in trade but in the honours of burgess-ship in craft and guild. They stood to their masters much in the relationship of sons of the family, and every encouragement was given them to become so actually by marriage. An early regulation of the Merchants and Trades Houses was directly framed "to move them to take their master's daughter in marriage before any other," an arrangement which, it was stated, would be "a great comfort and support to freemen." If the apprentice required any inducement to take this course, beyond the

³ *Travellers' Tales of Scotland*, p. 124.

⁴ The students' gowns were not yet treated in the ignominious fashion of the nineteenth century, when, at the stern demand of a Professor of Humanity, "Where is your gown, sir?" a student was sometimes known to produce from his pocket what looked like nothing more than a torn and dirty red rag, and proceed to drape it about his shoulders.

charms of the young lady and the prospect of succeeding to the business, it was provided by the assurance that he would be admitted a burgess at a reduced fee.⁵

⁵ *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. xviii. The fullest account of the social life, manners, and dress of the citizens of Glasgow in the eighteenth century is to be found in Strang's *Glasgow and its Clubs*, in its chapter on "The Accidental Club." For details of the professors, their qualifications and their quarrels, see Coutt's *History of the University of Glasgow*.

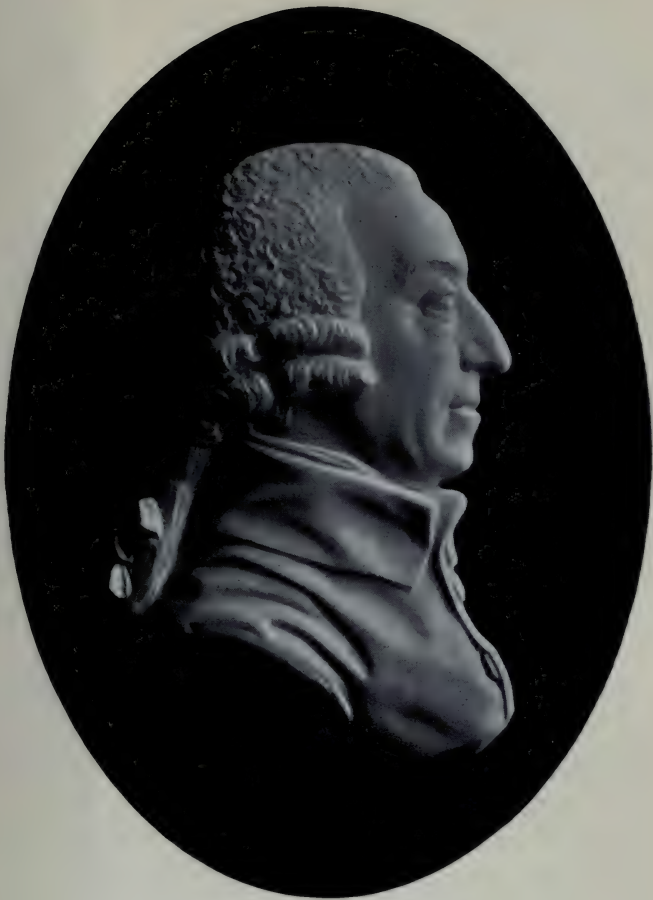
CHAPTER XIV

COLLEGE LIFE

IN the first decades of the eighteenth century students entered the University at a very early age. Principal Robertson and David Hume were no more than twelve years of age when they began their studies, while Principal Hill and Colin MacLaurin, the mathematician, were only eleven. The last-named graduated at fifteen, and became a professor four years afterwards. At that early age they were expected to know Latin as a spoken language, for prayers, lectures, and examinations were all conducted in that tongue. It was not till 1729 that Professor Hutcheson, in Glasgow—"the never to be forgotten Hutcheson" who was the preceptor of Adam Smith—set the example of lecturing in English, and to the present day the "Adsum" with which the student answers the roll-call, and the Latin form in which the Christian names are recited, form a relic of the ancient custom. It was even the rule that the students must speak nothing but Latin between themselves in the College grounds. When, in 1706, it was rumoured that this rule was being broken, and that the students were all speaking English, the Glasgow Senate ordered each regent or professor to appoint a "clandestine censor," or in plain words, a secret spy, to report all transgressors, who were to be fined 1d. for the first offence and 2d. for the second.¹

The students were of all sorts and conditions—sons of noblemen and lairds, farmers and shopkeepers, ministers and

¹ *Munimenta Univ. Glas.* ii. 390; Grey Graham, *Social Life in Scotland*, 454, 460.



ADAM SMITH, 1723-1790.

From medallion by James Tassie in the Hunterian Library.

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mechanics. In the second half of the century a third of the Glasgow number were Irish, and half of those who graduated were entered as "Scoto-Hibernicus." There were also a good many English and some foreigners.² The English and Irish Universities were then practically closed against dissenters, and these accordingly resorted in considerable numbers to the north of the Border. As already mentioned, many of these lads were very poor. To help them they were granted the privilege, in Glasgow, of exemption from "the ladles," that is, the local customs duty of a ladleful of meal out of each sack brought into the burgh. When, later in the century, a stingy farmer of "the ladles" denied this privilege, and insisted on exacting his legal dues, Dr. Adam Smith, future author of *The Wealth of Nations*, was deputed to interview the Town Council, and that body agreed to make good the toll thus insisted upon.³

Of a curriculum in the College itself the cost may be gathered from the rates charged at St. Andrews in 1767. The students there were divided into three classes. Of these the "Primers" (sons of noblemen) paid six guineas in class fees to their professor, dined with the professors at the high table, and wore a gown of fine material, richly trimmed. The "Seconders" (sons of gentlemen) paid a class fee of three guineas, sat also at the high table, and wore gowns of the same material, without the trimming. The "Terners" (sons of commoners) paid a fee of only one guinea, dined at the bursars' table, and wore gowns of coarser material. Their rooms were rent free, and the charge for their board at the high table was £8 for the session of seven months, afterwards in 1793 increased to £10, and at the bursars' table £5 11s. 1½d. In 1747 the board provided was as follows :

"1. Each Bursar hath for breakfast the third part of a scone and a mutchkine of ale.

² Professor Reid's *Works* (Hamilton's ed.), p. 40.

³ *Life of Adam Smith*, p. 67.

" 2. For dinner each Bursar hath half a scone of bread and a mutchkine and ane half of ale, and four Bursars have ane ashet of broth and a portion of beef or veal or mutton or hens, and when they have fish they have them in ashets proportionately, and in place of broth they have baps.

" 3. For supper each Bursar hath half a scone and a mutchkine and ane half of ale and three eggs, or what is equivalent to three eggs.

" 4. On Sabbath, besides their ordinary dinner the Bursars have at night to supper broth and fresh meat, and each hath half a scone of bread and a mutchkine and ane half of ale."

The food and drink were of the same quantity and quality at the high table as at the bursars' table. Some idea of the quantity of the rations may be judged from the fact that half a leg of mutton or veal was the allowance for four bursars at a meal. Each scone weighed sixteen ounces.⁴

There were certain other small charges: £10 Scots for the use of a spoon and plate, and a fee to the janitor of—Primers 4s. 6d., Seconders 2s. 6d., and Terners 1s. Altogether the student living within the College at St. Andrews, and probably also at Glasgow, in the second half of the century, could get through an entire session for an expenditure on fees and board of a good deal less than £20. According to Dr. Johnson, in his *Journey to the Western Islands*, it could indeed, in 1774, be done on £10. In the early years of the century the expenditure would be less.⁵

In Glasgow no charge seems to have been made for the students' rooms till 1712, when a rent was instituted of from

⁴ The menu at the College tables at Glasgow a century and a half before this time is detailed by Dr. Murray in his *Memories of the Old College of Glasgow*, p. 454. In Glasgow the common table, at which regents and students ate together, was given up in 1694. *Ibid.* p. 458.

⁵ These interesting particulars were given, from a previously unpublished document, in an article by A. H. Symon in the *Glasgow Herald* of 8th August, 1931. Gibson, in his *History* (page 195), states that board and lodging could be had in Glasgow in 1777 at a rate as low as £10 10s. per annum.

four to ten shillings for the session, according to position.⁶ Of his residence within the College in 1743 the famous Jupiter Carlyle writes : " I had my lodging this session in a college room, which I had, furnished, for the session, at a moderate rent. John Donaldson, a college servant, lighted my fire and made my bed, and a maid from the landlady who furnished the room came once a fortnight with clean linens." ⁷ The letting of rooms within the College to students was finally discontinued in 1817.⁸

Certain rather invidious differences with regard to rank were made in the treatment accorded the students. Most outstanding among these was the rule regarding the use of the " great garden " which lay between the College buildings and the Molendinar. To that garden was added in 1704 a smaller " Physic Garden," the first of the successive Botanic Gardens of Glasgow. The use both of the Great Garden and the Physic Garden was restricted to " the sons of noblemen who are scholars." To each of these was entrusted a key with the special stipulation that the holder must allow no one but himself to use it.⁹

Only once and again, at rare intervals, the jurisdictions of the College and the burgh came into conflict. One occasion occurred in 1711, when the magistrates fined some students found misconducting themselves in the city. Against this the College authorities protested, and demanded the return of the fines, on the ground that the students were under the sole separate jurisdiction of the University. They threatened to hold the magistrates liable for all expense which might be incurred in vindicating the College's right and jurisdiction. Unfortunately there is no record of the upshot.¹⁰

Residence within the precincts of the College had both

⁶ *Munimenta*, vol. iii. p. 513

⁷ *Autobiography*, p. 99.

⁸ Coutts, *Hist. Univ. of Glasgow*, p. 334.

⁹ *Munimenta*, vol. ii. p. 421.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* ii. p. 400.

advantages and disadvantages. The regents or professors took turns, a week at a time, in acting as Hebdomadar, and the Hebdomadar visited the students' rooms at five every morning to see that they were out of bed, and at nine every night to make sure that no gaming or idle amusement was going on. An ordinance of the authorities ran : " Students are obliged to be diligent in praying to God, reading in their chambers morning and evening, and, to ensure obedience, cubicular censors are appointed to keep watch, and the regents are enjoined to notice how they perform the private duties of prayer and reading, as well as in their questions.¹ At 6 a.m. a bell summoned everyone to a general roll-call, followed by prayers and religious instruction before going to their classes, and all students were required to be within doors when the gates were shut at nine o'clock at night. Even on Sunday the youthful seeker after learning was under discipline all the time. The day began with religious exercises in the classrooms, after which there were services, forenoon and afternoon, in the Blackfriars or College Kirk, under the eyes of Principal and professors. When the bell rang at four o'clock they gathered again in their classrooms, to be examined on the sermons they had heard, to be questioned on the Catechism, and to hear a lecture on the Confession of Faith. In the evening they might be required to attend a lecture by a regent in the College Kirk. Otherwise they must not be seen out of doors, on pain of fine and rebuke. Even the coins they dropped into the collection ladle were scrutinised, and when, in 1703, it was thought the contributions were too small, it was arranged that the collection should be taken in the classroom on the Saturday, and handed to the kirk-session next day.²

But if College life was by no means a bed of roses for the student, it can hardly have been an Elysium for the teaching staff. About the beginning of the eighteenth century professor-

¹ *Mun. Univ. Glas.* ii. 369, 489.

² *Ibid.* ii. 379.

ships of specific subjects began to be set up, but in the main, down till the year 1727, when a Royal Commission remodelled its affairs, Glasgow University followed the "rotatory" or "ambulatory" system of teaching.³ Under that system there were no chairs of specific subjects, but the regent or teacher carried the same class on year after year, dealing in succession with Greek, mathematics, logic, physics, ethics, and pneumatics,⁴ till he brought his students to laureation at the end of their third or fourth year. The regent accordingly came to know the character and abilities of each student very thoroughly. On the part of the student it had the drawback that he might be unfortunate in the year of his entry, and might find himself tied, during the whole time of his sojourn at college, to the teaching, guidance, and example of an ill-qualified or undesirable pedagogue. It was next to impossible, of course, for any regent to be a complete master of all the subjects he was called to teach. Indeed, there are curious stories extant of the meagreness of the qualifications of some of these teachers. A superficial examination in Greek and a debate in Latin on some such subject as *Quodnam sit criterion veritatis*, or *Quod sit causa variorum colorum in corporibus naturalibus*, formed the prescribed tests. When a professor of Humanity was appointed in 1704, the translation of a not too exacting passage from the *Annals* of Tacitus, and the turning into Latin prose of the not too colloquial speech of a Scottish nobleman, were taken as sufficient proof of efficiency. When, in the same year, a professorship of Greek was introduced, all that was asked of the candidate by way of proof of scholarship was an analysis of ten lines from the eighth book of the *Iliad*.⁵ When, in 1709, Charles Morthland was appointed to the Chair

³ Coutts, *History of University*, p. 207.

⁴ Pneumatics dealt with such questions as "the being and perfections of the true God, the nature of angels and the soul of man, and the duties of natural religion."

⁵ *Mun. Univ. Glasg.* ii. 413, 385.

of Oriental Languages, of which Hebrew was the principal subject, his knowledge of that tongue was more than doubtful. He was allowed the greater part of a year to prepare, and actually went to Utrecht for the purpose.⁶

After all, no very high level of scholarship was to be expected from these men. They came at the end of a period, begun at the Reformation, when the only kind of learning considered as of any value was scriptural and dogmatic, and when poetry and art in every field suffered from what has been termed by one of our most brilliant Scottish critics the "Puritan blight." The Judaic ban against "graven images" was extended to everything which might add to the loveliness and charm of life. The glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome were regarded as carnal subjects which it was undesirable to dwell upon too closely. The ruling idea was to make our present existence as far as possible "a desert drear," in order to make sure of earning, and to render more attractive, a future heavenly home. It was impossible for a regent to become very enthusiastic over a subject which brought him no greater salary than 500 merks (£28 2s. 6d. sterling) a year. When professors of Greek and Latin were at last appointed in 1704, as above mentioned, their stipends were still less, merely 300 merks (£16 17s. 1d. sterling), with an uncertain addition from the fees of students. The salary of the Principal of Glasgow College himself was only £67 10s., with, of course, as was the case with the regents also, board at the common table.⁷ The stipends of the city ministers at that time were £1000 Scots, with £80 Scots for "house mail," or rent—altogether £87 10s. sterling.

⁶ Coutts, *Hist. University of Glasgow*, p. 190; Grey Graham, *Social Life in Scotland*, 468.

⁷ In 1707 by Royal Charter the four regents' stipends were increased by £11 each, and the stipends of the professors of Hebrew and mathematics were made £40, while the Principal and the professors of Humanity, Botany, and Greek received augmentations of £22, £25, £30, and £20 respectively.—*Mun. Univ. Glas.* i. 466.

In this connection it is interesting to note that, while the ambulatory or regenting system continued, a surprising number of the students took their degrees. It was then the personal interest of the regents to see that as many as possible of their charges proceeded to laureation, for each graduand paid his regent a guinea. After the method was changed in 1727, and there were no more guineas to be earned by the professors in this way, the number of students proceeding to graduation strangely decreased. The mental calibre of some of these professors may be judged from the fact that as late as 1733—six years after the last witch-burning had taken place at Dornoch, and within three years of the final abolition of the Act against witches—W. Forbes, professor of Law in Glasgow University, still, in his lectures and his *Institutes of Scots Law*, dealt seriously with evidence regarding this devilish craft.

By the beginning of the second quarter of the century a new stirring of intellectual life began to be felt in Scotland. In the field of poetry, William Hamilton of Gilbertfield, near Glasgow, was producing his modern version of Blind Harry's *Wallace*, and writing songs in a new natural vein, like "Willie was a wanton wag"; while in Edinburgh Allan Ramsay was reprinting ancient songs, and composing his own fine pastoral, *The Gentle Shepherd*. On the part of the universities Glasgow led the way with the vigorous departure of Professor Francis Hutcheson from the old dry-as-dust methods and doctrines, and the throwing of new life and interest into moral philosophy. Hutcheson's lectures were delivered in English, and, in the words of his biographer, Professor Scott, "constituted a revolution in academic teaching." He threw aside the old text-books and outworn formulas, and illumined his subject with his own vigorous ideas. Professor Robert Simson at the same time was publishing his *Elements of Euclid* and producing his treatise on *Conic Sections*. The example was followed presently at the Universities of Edinburgh, St. Andrews, and Aberdeen. In place of

the old regents who struggled with indifferent success to teach everything, professors were appointed who were specialists each in his appointed subject, and Scotland began to rebuild a reputation for literature, learning, and enlightenment, which was to attract the attention of all the world in the brilliant period of Adam Smith and David Hume. Thus the University of the West, which, before the Reformation, had sown the first seeds of thought in the mind of that perfervid iconoclast, John Knox, and was probably the seat of learning which suffered most from the working of his doctrines, was the first to recover from the effects of these, and to show the budding and bourgeoning of new life after the period of aridity. If the second half of the century was notable for a disgraceful amount of quarrelling among principals and professors, it was also remarkable for the long array of brilliant and famous men who received their mental equipment and had their characters developed and their ambitions kindled in the classrooms and quadrangles of that old College in the High Street of Glasgow.

CHAPTER XV

A GLASGOW JACOBITE : JOHN WALKINSHAW OF BARROWFIELD

ALTHOUGH Glasgow exerted itself so strenuously in 1715 to resist invasion by the Earl of Mar, the city did not altogether lack sympathisers with the Jacobite cause. Here, as elsewhere in Scotland, were individuals who, from motives either of disinterested loyalty to the direct line of Stewart kings, of protest against what they considered a great injustice, of disapproval of the Union between Scotland and England, or of hopes, by means of a gambler's throw, of recovering the desperate state of their family fortunes, devoted their interest and efforts to the party of " James VIII. and III." And here, as elsewhere, their activities, though ruinous to themselves, were gilded with the glamour of romance which somehow touched everything connected with the Stewart cause.

Probably the most outstanding of these Glasgow Jacobites was John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield and Camlachie. His family was a branch of the Walkinshaws of that ilk in Renfrewshire, and there were in direct succession three John Walkinshaws, lairds of Barrowfield. Of these, the first was Dean of Guild in 1669 and 1672, and is commended by McUre for his benevolence in leaving £100 to the poor of the Merchants' House. He was one of the owners of the privateer frigate *George* which served effectively in the Dutch war. When he married his third wife, Janet, daughter of William Anderson, merchant in Glasgow and laird of Kenniehill and of Easter Craigs, now Dennistoun, he undertook to invest a certain

sum for behoof of "the aires and bairns" of the marriage. For this purpose in 1669 he purchased for 3500 merks the lands of Wester Camlachie, about 25 acres in extent, between his father-in-law's property and his own. Janet Anderson, however, had no children, and both Camlachie and Barrowfield were inherited by Walkinshaw's son by his second wife, "Agnes Faulles." This second John Walkinshaw, who was one of the great "Sea Adventurers" mentioned by McUre, married a daughter of Principal Baillie of Glasgow University, and it was the eldest son of that union who was the noted Jacobite.

Barrowfield House, otherwise "the Manor Place of Barrowfield," was a quaint and interesting old mansion of some pretensions. It had belonged to the Hutchesons of Hutchesons' Hospital, and in the previous century was said to have housed for a night no less interesting a personage than Mary Queen of Scots. In its antique garden to the last was to be seen "Queen Mary's Bower," and a sundial bearing the extraordinarily remote date, 1311.¹

Reared in a house with such associations it was perhaps not unnatural that Walkinshaw should sympathise with the romantic cause of the Chevalier. He was no doubt further influenced by his marriage, in 1703, to Katharine, one of the daughters of Sir Hugh Paterson, Bart., of Bannockburn, himself a noted Jacobite.²

Walkinshaw and two of his brothers-in-law joined Mar's rising in 1715, and all three were taken prisoners at Sheriffmuir. Confined in Stirling Castle and charged with high treason, the

¹ An engraving of the house, in ruins, is given in *Glasghu Facies*, p. 755. Its associations afterwards gave the name to Queen Mary Street, at the eastern end of which it stood. It faced Dalmarnock Road, and its great walled garden ran back to London Road. It was taken down in 1844 to supply materials for the building of a farmhouse near its site.

² On his march south in the autumn of 1745 Prince Charles Edward slept for a night at Bannockburn House, and in January 1746, while his army was besieging Stirling Castle, he made the mansion his headquarters.

laird of Barrowfield stood in serious danger of losing his life. His wife, however, was a woman of spirit. Obtaining permission to visit her husband, she changed clothes with him, and while he walked out of the fortress in the character of "Lady Barrowfield," she remained in his stead to "face the music." Though he escaped, his estates, already heavily burdened with debt, were forfeited, and he appears to have become a member of the little group of active conspirators round the person of the forlorn "James VIII. and III." in his exile on the Continent.³

It was at this time that he took part in one of those romantic adventures which, as already said, so largely made up the history of the Jacobite cause. In this instance the occurrence might have been an episode taken from the pages of some curious work of fiction. It was, at any rate, an exciting enterprise for all concerned in it.

The facts were these. The Chevalier de St. George was now over thirty years of age, and if the hopes of the Jacobites were not to be damped off by the prospect of an end of the dynasty, it was desirable that he should marry. At the same time perhaps not less urgent was the need of refilling the depleted coffers of the exiled court. One of the wealthiest heiresses and most desirable matches in Europe at that time was Clementina, daughter of Prince James Sobieski, and granddaughter of John Sobieski, King of Poland, who was the champion of Christendom against the Turks, and drove back their last great invasion in a mighty battle before the gates of Vienna in 1683. The hand of this princess was duly sought for the Chevalier, and her parents, dazzled by the prospect held out to them of their daughter succeeding to the British throne, were induced to consent to the match.

News of the proposed union, however, reached the Court of St. James's, which forthwith took measures to frustrate the

³ *Glasghu Facies*, ii. p. 752 note; *Burgh Records*, 28th May, 1724.

enterprise. Representations were at once made to the Court of Vienna to prevent the marriage. To overcome this obstacle it was arranged that the bride should travel secretly to Bologna, and that the ceremony should take place there. But the German Emperor was at that time especially desirous to stand well with the British Government, which was supporting his claim to Sicily with its fleet. On being informed of what was taking place, therefore, he ordered the arrest of the bridal party, and at the same time deprived the bride's father, Prince James Sobieski, of his government of Augsburg, and threw him into prison.

This denouement upset the entire plan of the Jacobite party, and threatened seriously to damage the prospects of the Jacobite cause. In the emergency, an Irishman, Charles Wogan, who had nearly lost his life in the rising of 1715, came forward with a plan. He obtained from the Austrian Ambassador a passport in the name of Count Cernes, a nobleman who, he gave out, was returning with his family from Loretto to the Low Countries. Armed with this document the rescue party set off. Two friends of Wogan, Major Misset and his wife, acted as the Count and Countess; Wogan himself was the brother of the Countess, and a maid of Mrs. Misset's was the sister of the Count.

On the evening of 27th April, 1719, the adventurous little party reached Innsbrück, and secured lodgings near the convent where the Princess was confined. Here fortune favoured the plotters. A servant of the Princess had obtained permission from the porter to bring a young woman into the cloister as often as he wished. This man was persuaded with a handsome bribe to help the plot, and Jenny, Mrs. Misset's maid, after some demur, was induced by the gift of a fine damask dress, a few pieces of gold, and many bright promises, to risk the chief part in the enterprise. During a dark night and a blinding snowstorm, the maid was conveyed into the convent. There

she quickly changed clothes with the Princess, and very soon a well-horsed carriage with a freight which meant so much to the future of far-off Scotland, was making its way as rapidly as postillions could ride, over bad roads and in wild weather, towards the Italian frontier. The chief risk was at the frontier itself, but after a few exciting moments the danger was passed, and the fair Polish Princess was free upon Italian soil. A few days later she was married to James at Bologna by proxy.

In his marriage, as in everything else, the Chevalier failed somehow to play the gallant part. He was away at the moment, intriguing in Spain. The Princess, nevertheless, did not fail to reward her rescuers. Wogan was made a knight by the Pope. Nothing more is heard of the brave Jenny, but it may be hoped she was not forgotten. John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, who had also played a part in the exciting enterprise, received his reward in another way. He had no sons, but when, shortly afterwards, his wife presented him in Rome with a tenth daughter, the Princess acted as the child's godmother, and gave her her own name of Clementina. This was the Clementina Walkinshaw who was to play so notable a part, at a later day, in the life of the Princess's own son, Prince Charles Edward.⁴

Meanwhile "Lady Barrowfield" had returned to Glasgow. In 1722 a petition was presented to the Crown on behalf of her and her ten daughters. In response to this, William Douglas, younger of Glenbervie, was appointed as a trustee, to work the coal under the estates on their behalf. Later, in December 1723, when the properties were sold to the magistrates of Glasgow, the mansion house of the Camlachie estate, with its garden and twelve acres behind, was reserved for Lady

⁴ *Narrative of the Escape of the Princess Clementine*, by Charles Wogan, London, 1722. *The Life and Times of Prince Charles Stuart, Count of Albany*, by Alex. Charles Ewald, F.S.A., i. 2.

Barrowfield. This remained in her possession only till 1734. In that year she sold the house and grounds for £500 to a Glasgow merchant, John Orr, who had already bought the Camlachie and Barrowfield estates from the Town Council for £10,000.⁵

Thus ended the Walkinshaw connection with Glasgow, so far as the ownership of Barrowfield was concerned. It seems probable, however, that Mrs. Walkinshaw continued to enjoy the revenue from the coal pits on the estate and to occupy the Camlachie mansion house for some years longer as a tenant. It is generally understood that it was when Prince Charles Edward was staying at the Shawfield mansion in Glasgow, in the Christmas week of 1745, there was presented to him for the first time John Walkinshaw's youngest daughter, Clementina, who was also the god-daughter of his own mother, the Princess Clementina Sobieski; and tradition even avers that, attracted by the charms of the young lady, he paid a visit to her at the Camlachie mansion.⁶ Whether or not he did so, he

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 30th Dec. 1723; 16th May, 1724; 28th May, 1724. Walkinshaw's estate was heavily burdened with debt, and it was probably for this reason that in purchasing Barrowfield the magistrates dealt directly with him, purchasing the rights of his creditors, and securing the consent of his wife, Katharine Paterson, and of William Douglas, younger, of Glenbervie, the donator of the escheat. A somewhat similar set of circumstances seems to have occurred in the case of Walter Gibson (*supra*, p. 58), in which, though by decree of adjudication, his properties had apparently passed to certain creditors, he was still able to sell Whiteinch and Balshagrie, and the purchasers merely fortified their right by obtaining an additional disposition from the creditors.

The little old two-storey mansion house of Camlachie, with its quaint attic windows in the roof, forms the subject of a woodcut in *Glasghu Facies*, p. 754. For many years it was an inn, and when Wolfe, the future hero of Quebec, commanded the garrison in Glasgow in 1749, he took up his quarters under its roof. Here he wrote several of his dispatches, and improved himself by studying Latin and mathematics. The building, which formed 809 and 811 Gallowgate, was only demolished in 1931.

An account of the Walkinshaws of Barrowfield is given in *Glasgow Past and Present*, vol. ii. p. 511, and further details are furnished by Senex in *Old Glasgow*, pp. 10-12, and in Brown's *Hist. Glasg.* ii. 101. See also Crawford's *Renfrewshire*, p. 90.

⁶ Lugton's *Old Lodgings of Glasgow*, p. 61.

had abundant opportunity of improving his acquaintance with Clementina during the following weeks, when staying under the roof of her relatives at Bannockburn House.⁷ In that neighbourhood likewise there is a tradition that, after the Jacobite army had abandoned the siege of Stirling Castle, and set out on its march to the north, the Prince spent a last night at Torbrex House, near St. Ninians, before bidding farewell to the daughter of the stout old laird of Barrowfield. In the little old two-storeyed mansion, which then belonged to Mrs. Walkinshaw, the room is still to be seen in which Charles is said to have slept on that occasion.

John Walkinshaw died in 1731. His wife survived him by about fifty years, and died in Edinburgh in November 1780, at the great age of ninety-seven.⁸ Not the least of her sorrows must have been the fate of her youngest daughter. After his escape to France the Prince sent for Clementina, and she went over to him in 1752. As his mistress, or perhaps his wife, her life with him was most unhappy, and she was forced by his ill-usage to leave him in 1760.⁹ By the Jacobites, who wished to get her out of the way, she was accused of betraying his plans to the British Government, but the only foundation for the charge seems to have been that her sister Katharine was housekeeper to the Princess of Wales, mother of George III. The calumny was evidently not entertained by those best fitted to know. By the French king she was created Comtesse d'Alberstorf, and she was pensioned, first by the Prince's father, and afterwards by his brother, the Cardinal of York. Her daughter, Charlotte, born in 1753, Charles himself "legitimated" in 1784 and created Duchess of Albany. She is the

⁷ *Glasgow Mercury*, 23rd Nov. 1780.

⁸ Bannockburn estate had been sold in 1720 by the Commissioners of Forfeited Estates for £9671, but, like Keir estate not far away, had been bought back by friends of its former owners.—Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, iii. 443.

⁹ Ewald's *Life and Times of Prince Charles*, ii. 229.

“Bonnie Lass of Albany” of Burns’s song, and she died in the year after her father, 1789. Clementina Walkinshaw, Comtesse d’Alberstorf, herself died at Freiburg in Switzerland in 1802. There are reasons for believing that she was a much-injured woman.



RESIDENCE OF THE CAMPBELLS OF BLYTHSWOOD,
BRIDGEGATE.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SHAWFIELD RIOT

A SPIRIT of enterprise and activity was clearly evident in the atmosphere of Glasgow in the second decade of the eighteenth century. In 1718 the magistrates found it possible to set about the building of a sixth church for the city, necessitated by the increase in the number of inhabitants "since the late happy Revolution." The project had been in view for some time, but had been delayed for lack of means. The new church was intended for the inhabitants of the north-west quarter of the city, and was planted in that quarter. It still stands at the head of Candleriggs, and is the well-known St. David's or Ramshorn Church. To begin with, the building was somewhat unfortunate. Within two years several rents appeared in the west wall of the church, and had to be "casten with lime," while the steeple was so unsafe that it had to be taken down and rebuilt.¹

A church was also built in Port-Glasgow, of which the feuars there paid one-half the cost and the Town Council of Glasgow the other half.² Further, by way of restoring the appearance of the city, the Council exercised certain powers they possessed in connection with a ruinous tenement at the corner of Gallowgate and High Street. The tenement had been burned in the great fire which consumed the centre of the city in 1677, and, as the owners did not possess means to rebuild, it

¹ *Burgh Records*, 23rd Sept., 27th Oct., 1718; 5th May, 1720.

² *Ibid.* 28th March, 1718.

had remained a reproach in full view of the Tolbooth opposite for more than forty years. It was now rebuilt at the town's cost, "with peatches before the shops, and three storeys high above the shops, beside garrets above."³

At the same time the surgeons and "pharmacians" of Glasgow had reached a position of prosperity and professional attainment which warranted them in making a definite break with the barbers. Accordingly they brought the quarrel to a head by retiring in a body from the craft.⁴ The Town Council gave its final judgment on the subject on 22nd September, 1722, dividing the property of the craft equitably between the two parties, and from that time the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons and the Incorporation of Barbers have been entirely separate bodies.

There were, however, in many minds the workings from outside of a sinister influence seeking to wreck the rising fortunes of the city. The burgesses had not yet forgotten the disaster of Darien, and how it was brought about by the selfish jealousy of the English merchants and colonists. More recently the tobacco trade of Glasgow had been attacked in similar insidious fashion. It had, as a matter of fact, been almost strangled by vexatious restrictions and inquisitions imposed by the House of Commons at the instance of the traders of Whitehaven, Bristol, and London.

About the same time there appeared on the scene a menace to another important industry. The spinning and weaving of linen had for many years been a staple trade in Scotland. Checks, linen, and linen and cotton were manufactured in Glasgow as early, at least, as 1702.⁵ Defoe, in his *Tour*, published in 1727, says of the city: "Here is also a *Linen Manufacture*; but as that is in common with all parts of Scotland . . . I will not insist upon it as a *Peculiar* here, though they

³ *Burgh Records*, 25th Jan. 1718. Peatches = piazzas.

⁴ *Ibid.* 23rd Jan. 1720.

⁵ Gibson's *History*, p. 239.

make a very great quantity of it, and send it to the Plantations as their principal merchandise."

In this linen-making industry the manufacturers of London and other English towns seem to have seen a rival to their own woollen industry, and to have presented a petition to the House of Commons to place some embargo upon it. So serious to the fortunes of Glasgow were the possibilities of any such action that the magistrates and Town Council drew up a petition, to be presented to the House of Commons "for themselves and in name and behalf of many thousands employed in the manufacturing of linen cloth." In this they pointed out, first, that the suggestion of the English weavers was directly contrary to the sixth article of the Union, which declared that all parts of the United Kingdom should for ever have the same allowances, encouragements, and drawbacks, and be under the same regulations, restrictions, and prohibitions of trade. Secondly, any Act of Parliament directed against the wearing of printed or stained linen must unavoidably reduce many thousands of workpeople to extreme want and beggary, and take away the means by which the people of Scotland bought the woollen and silk manufactures of England. Finally, the petitioners asked the House of Commons to take the linen trade of Scotland under its protection, and not only keep it safe from the proposed attack, but also free it from certain hardships and inconveniences to which it was already subject.⁶

This appeal appears to have had little effect, for a duty of threepence per yard, which was about thirty per cent. of the value, was levied on all linen "printed, stained, or painted" in Great Britain, while a high duty was also placed on the soap used in whitening the cloth. These taxes struck directly against the industry carried on in Scotland, which supplied one of the chief exports by means of which the trade of Glasgow

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 11th Dec. 1719.

with the American colonies, and especially the tobacco trade, was carried on. Two years later, therefore, the Town Council petitioned Parliament again. It pointed out the unfairness of the tax, in view of the fact that vast quantities of foreign linen were admitted to the country, and received a rebate on being exported again by the English traders to the plantations. The memorial urged that linen was the ancient staple manufacture of North Britain, and should have the same public regard and protection as the woollen manufacture, which was the staple of South Britain. Since the Union, the petitioners declared, the other staple manufactures of Scotland had been entirely ruined by the greatness and perfection of those of England. The manufacture of linen was the only industry left by which the people could be employed and the poor supported. To this the new duties had now given the finishing stroke, and the disastrous effect was being felt in every parish in the country.⁷

Blow after blow of this invidious kind, which Scotland, and especially Glasgow, had suffered at the hands of the House of Commons in London, had excited no little resentment in the minds of the citizens. That resentment needed only a little further provocation to produce alarming results, and before long the provocation came.

Though much care had been taken, at the time of the Union, to arrange for an equitable share of taxation to be borne by Scotland, some difficulties of adjustment afterwards arose, and in 1724, when money was urgently required by Government, it was resolved to make a call upon North Britain. The sum of £20,000 was required, and the Government proposed to raise this by a tax of sixpence per barrel upon ale. At the same time, according to Lockhart, who gives a very full account of the whole trouble, it was proposed to deprive Scotland of the bounty on exported grain, which was still to be enjoyed by England. So great a furore, however, was raised in Scotland

⁷ *Burgh Records*, 18th Nov. 1721.

against the measure, especially by the country gentlemen and the Jacobites, that the Government dropped the suggestion, and turned to a proposal which seemed less open to question.⁸ It proceeded to place a tax on malt. Already, as a matter of fact, the country was subject to the same tax as England, viz. 6d. per bushel ; but the duty had never been levied. It was part of this duty which was now to be put in force. The tax was to be threepence per bushel, and it was over this impost that serious trouble arose.

Hitherto Scotland had been entirely free from any duty or tax upon the material for brewing "the puir man's wine,"⁹ and full advantage had been taken of the fact. Malt-kilns and malt-barns were to be seen everywhere, and along the highway running westward out of Glasgow, the old St. Theneu's Gate, now Argyll Street, they were specially numerous. It was true that since the Revolution a tax of 2d. Scots (one-sixth of a penny sterling) had been levied on every pint of ale sold in the country ; but in Glasgow the product of this tax had been devoted to the common good of the city itself, and perhaps for that reason had excited no hostility. Now, however, the country was about to be subjected to a levy which meant that a solid sum of £20,000 per annum would be carried across the Border into England. The Act was passed in 1725, and the levying of the tax was to begin on 23rd June.

As the day approached a meeting of the brewers of the chief towns took place in Edinburgh, and arranged for resistance to the tax.¹⁰ The whole country was roused, and it seems probable that the Jacobites were using the occasion to stir up

⁸ *Lockhart Papers*, ii. 134 *et seq.*

⁹ Yet humbly kind in time o' need,
The puir man's wine,
His wee drap parritch or his bread,
Thou kitchens fine !

Burns, *Scotch Drink*.

¹⁰ Hill Burton, viii. 354.

indignation against the Hanoverian Government. Curiously enough, however, it was in Glasgow, a city of undoubted Hanoverian sentiment, that the actual outbreak of violence occurred.

The personage whose name figures chiefly in connection with the occurrence was Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, M.P. for the Glasgow group of burghs. The son of John Campbell, an eminent notary who plied his profession in the then fashionable quarter of the Goosedubs, and who had amassed considerable wealth, and was proprietor of the lands of Shawfield, near Rutherglen, was himself one of the most prosperous of the Glasgow merchants.¹ As already mentioned, he built for himself in 1711 the famous Shawfield Mansion at the West Port of the burgh, facing the Stockwellgate.² Some idea of his means may be gathered from the fact that, when the magistrates purchased the Barrowfield estate in 1724, the largest of John Walkinshaw's creditors with whom they had to settle was Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, to whom the Jacobite laird was owing no less a sum than £59,000 Scots (£4916 6s. 8d. sterling).³ From the first he appears to have enjoyed the confidence of the city fathers. When the Government agreed to pay £736 13s. 5d. sterling for the expense to which the town had been put for the maintenance of the Jacobite prisoners in the Bishop's Castle in 1715-16, the Town Council entrusted him with a power of attorney to uplift the money in London.⁴ At the same time, for "the considerable personal charge and

¹ Senex, *Glasgow Past and Present*, i. 455.

² A woodcut of the mansion is given in Gordon's *Glasghu Facies*, page 606, and the most complete description of it in the same work, page 955. The orchard, shrubbery, and ornamental gardens behind extended as far north as the present Ingram Street, while in front a massive iron-studded gate of oak between lofty stone portals gave admission to carriages, and there was a parapet with curiously sculptured columns surmounted by sphinxes. It was certainly not surpassed in grandeur by the Spreull mansion still standing on the adjoining site on the east, by the Dreghorn mansion, now part of a warehouse in Great Clyde Street, or by the Lainshaw mansion, now embedded in the Queen Street end of the Royal Exchange.

³ *Burgh Records*, 28th May, 1724.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1st May, 1719.

expenses " he had been at in securing the payment, and also in getting an Act passed through Parliament for renewing the town's grant of two pennies on the pint of ale, he was paid by the magistrates the rather astonishing sum of £348 1s. 3¼d. sterling, or nearly half the amount recovered by his efforts from the Government.⁵

While this was done, among certain of the townspeople, there was a tide of animosity rising against their member of Parliament. He was believed to have given information to the Government which contributed to bring about the obstructions to Glasgow's tobacco trade which had of late harassed the fortunes of the burgh, and in the previous November he had received some intimation of the public feeling against him by the smashing of some of the windows of his mansion. He was further known to have given his vote in the House of Commons in favour of the execrated tax on malt.

Before the day on which the new tax was to come into operation Campbell seems to have received further warning of his danger, for he removed his family, and also, his enemies said, some of his valuables, to Woodhall, his country seat eight miles out of town, and asked the Government to send a military force to keep down disorder.⁶ Rumours of these doings seem to have reached the citizens and to have fired their wrath to the explosion point. Their member of Parliament had not only voted for the hated malt tax which was to transfer so much of

⁵ *Ibid.* 7th Nov. 1719. As a matter of fact, the town itself appears to have received very little of this belated repayment by the Exchequer, the fees to the various officials in London amounting to £51 18s. 8¼d. The charges for securing the renewal of the grant of 2d. on the pint of ale were no less extravagant—Expenses of Provost Aird and the Town Clerk in London, £111 16s. sterling; dues to officials, £129; two hogsheads Obryan wine to Daniel Campbell "for the use of some friends of the town," £73 12s. 5d.; and to Daniel Campbell himself, as mentioned above, £348 1s. 3¼d. (*Burgh Records*, 11th Dec. 1719). Altogether, one gets the impression from some of these items that Daniel Campbell was very capable of looking after his own interest.

⁶ *A Letter from a Gentleman in Glasgow concerning the late Tumult*. Printed in 1725.—*Glasghu Facies*, p. 958 (Original in National Library).

Scotland's wealth to England, but had arranged to bring English troops into the city to massacre the inhabitants if they ventured to protest.

On 23rd June, the day when the Malt Tax came into force, the excise officers were forced to flee out of most of the towns in the western counties. In Glasgow crowds of idle persons, mostly women and boys, gathered in the outskirts, where the malt-barns were situated, and the officers did not venture to enter the barns to levy the duty, out of fear of the mob growing to proportions which might be dangerous.⁷ On the following day the same thing happened, but so far the magistrates found no difficulty in dispersing the crowd. It was not till the evening of the 24th, when Captain Bushell, with two companies of foot, marched into the town that anything alarming happened. Word was then brought to Provost Miller that the persons he had ordered to prepare the guard-room in Trongate for the reception of the soldiers had been thrust out by a mob, who locked the doors and carried off the keys. When he sent the town officers to open the doors they were attacked and beaten off, and when he set out to see to the matter in person he was told that if he approached the spot he would be torn in pieces by the mob.⁸ He was advised that the disorder would be quieted if the soldiers were dispersed to billets, and after consulting Captain Bushell he ordered this to be done. He then waited in the town-house with the Dean of Guild and Mr. Campbell of Blythwood, the only other justice of the peace in the place, till nine o'clock, when, as no further trouble was reported, they retired, as was customary, to a tavern hard by.⁹

⁷ Lockhart's account.

⁸ The guardhouse, a handsome building with a piazza, stood at the foot of Candleriggs on the west side. In its lower part were two apartments, one for officers and one for privates, while above were lofts for ammunition, etc. (Gibson's *History*, p. 150).

⁹ "A True and Faithful Account" sent by the Town Council to the King.—*Burgh Records*, 31st July, 1725.

Shortly after ten o'clock, however, word was brought that the mob had risen again, and were attacking Shawfield's house. The party hurried to the spot, where they found a more formidable mob than before, mostly young fellows armed with clubs and other weapons, and carrying hammers and house-breaking tools. None of these young men were known to the Provost or his companions, but after considerable debate he persuaded them to retire, and they were moving away when they were met by another band of rioters, who beat down the town officers and threatened to cut the Provost and his company to pieces. The latter had to flee for their lives, and only escaped with difficulty.

The town guard, which usually went on duty between ten and eleven, was of no use in the circumstances, as it consisted, not of the burgesses themselves, but of "the poorer sort of people," hired by them for that service. It was proposed to call out the military, and Captain Bushell sent an offer to do this. But as the soldiers were tired with their long march, and could only be summoned from their quarters by beat of drum, and in ones and twos, when they would be liable to be destroyed singly by the mob, it was thought inadvisable to call them out.

The rioters were now absolute masters of the situation, and they used their opportunity to wreck the Shawfield Mansion completely. Nothing was left but the walls, floors, and roof, which they could not easily destroy.

So far the disturbance had proceeded without bloodshed. The tragic part was to follow.

Next day, 25th June, the Provost secured the passages to the plundered mansion, put the soldiers in possession of the guard-house, and gave orders for two hundred of the inhabitants to assemble at the Tolbooth at three o'clock, to receive orders for patrolling the town. Before that hour, however, affairs took a more serious turn. As the Provost and his friends were walking in front of the town-house the rioters suddenly

reappeared, led by an old woman beating a drum. By some afterwards it was said that the old woman was really a man disguised. Without waiting for other help the Provost broke up the mob and drove it off the street, but it merely gathered in the wynds and back ways, and presently appeared again before the guard-house, and began to throw stones at the soldiers. At that, Captain Bushell, who appears to have been hot-tempered and impulsive, drew out his men and formed them in a hollow square at the cross, commanding the four main streets. There the mob began stoning him again, and, the situation threatening to become worse, he, without waiting for a proclamation by the civil authority, ordered his men to fire. By that volley several persons were killed and more were wounded, and the occurrence merely increased the fury of the rioters. The mob then broke into the magazine in the Tolbooth, carried off the arms stored there, and rang the fire bell to alarm the townsfolk.

Finding himself powerless to resist, the Provost sent a message to Captain Bushell, desiring him to save further tumult by retiring from the city. This Bushell did, and marched his men to Dunbarton. The riot then died down, but nine persons had been killed and sixteen or seventeen wounded.

News of the disturbance having reached Edinburgh, an account of it appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, which represented both the magistrates and the military as having done their best to preserve the peace. This did not please two individuals, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, who was Campbell of Shawfield's brother, and M.P. for that city, and George Drummond, one of the Commissioners of Excise, and next Lord Provost of the capital. At the instigation of Drummond the *Caledonian Mercury* four days later published an account of what had happened, which represented the conduct of the magistrates and inhabitants of Glasgow in an unfavourable light, and insinuated that the magistrates were accessory to the disorders. As a result, and believing the city to be in a state of rebellion,

General Wade, the officer commanding in Scotland, marched upon Glasgow on 9th July with a considerable body of troops. These comprised Lord Deloraine's regiment of foot, six troops of the Royal Scots Dragoons, as many of the Earl of Stair's Dragoons, and one of the Independent Companies of Highlanders commanded by Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, with a train of artillery and ammunition. Wade marched this force into the city, rather surprised that there was no rebellion to quell. With him, however, came the Lord-Advocate, Duncan Forbes of Culloden, afterwards to become famous by the part he played at the time of the later Jacobite rebellion. Forbes instituted a strict enquiry, which included the magistrates themselves, and as a result a considerable number of persons were imprisoned in the guard-house. On Friday, 16th July, these persons were carried to Edinburgh under military escort, and on the same day the provost, three bailies, the dean of guild, and the deacon-convener were arrested, and charged with having encouraged the rioters. On learning what was taking place a great concourse of the citizens gathered at the cross, and probably only the presence of the military prevented another riotous outbreak.

After spending a night in their own Tolbooth the magistrates were carried, under a guard of the Royal Scots Dragoons, first to Falkirk, where they rested on the Sunday, and then to Edinburgh, where they were lodged in the Tolbooth. It is interesting to know that some forty or fifty of their own merchants came from Glasgow to accompany them; also that when they were allowed bail and two of them returned to Glasgow on the Wednesday, they were met, some five or six miles out, by several hundreds of the inhabitants, and welcomed with the ringing of bells and other demonstrations of joy.¹⁰

¹⁰ "Letter from a Gentleman," preserved in the National Library, and reprinted in Gordon's *Glasghu Facies*, p. 958. See also Wodrow's *Analecta*, and *Glasgow Burgh Records*, 7th July, 31st July, 14th Aug. 1725.

In the upshot no further action appears to have been taken against Provost Miller and the magistrates of Glasgow. Lockhart, indeed, suggests that the chief reason for their being troubled at all was that at the previous Michaelmas election they had ousted Provost Aird and his party, who were friends of Campbell of Shawfield, and that the riot was thought a proper occasion to "squeeze them," and perhaps to replace "Campbell's set."

Of the actual rioters, what Lockhart calls "a hot trial" took place in the Justiciary Court, the Earl of Islay and Lord Royston pressing for a death sentence. Of the first ten who were tried a man and a woman were condemned to perpetual banishment. The others were acquitted.

In the case of Captain Bushell a criminal process was raised in the Court of Justiciary by the Glasgow magistrates themselves, and, seeing that he had acted without authority from a magistrate a verdict was found against him. He, however, received a royal pardon, and shortly afterwards, having retired from Scotland, was promoted to the command of a troop of dragoons.¹ There is reason to believe that this leniency had an effect twelve years later, when the mob of Edinburgh, determined to prevent the escape in similar circumstances of Captain Porteous, took matters into its own hands and hanged the object of their wrath in the Grassmarket.²

Of the personage whose conduct gave rise to the popular ferment, Daniel Campbell of Shawfield himself, something remains to be said. Lockhart's suggestion that he bore some grudge against Provost Miller and the Glasgow magistrates receives some support from the fact that immediately after the riot he called upon these gentlemen to pay down the £4500 they were still owing him out of the price of the Barrowfield estate. To raise the money the members of the Town Council had to become security "severally and conjunctly" to the

¹ *Lockhart Papers*.

² Hill Burton, viii. 356.

bank in Edinburgh, a fact which probably gave him the satisfaction he may have wished.³ By way of compensation for the damage done to his house, the Government paid Campbell £6080, with £2600 more for other details. As the actual loss can hardly have amounted to anything like £8680, the award looks not unlike part of the huge system of bribery which was a notorious feature of Walpole's administration. In this case the solatium cost the Government nothing, for it recouped itself by confiscating for a period of years the excise duty of twopence per pint on ale consumed within the burgh, the grant of which had only recently been renewed to the Glasgow magistrates for other purposes.⁴

With the money thus obtained, Shawfield bought the islands of Islay and Jura from the Campbells of Cawdor, who had possessed them since the days of James VI. The sum he paid for the two islands was £12,000, and he presently sold Jura to the ancestor of the Campbell lairds of Jura of the present day.⁵

Two years after the riot, Campbell sold the Shawfield Mansion to Colonel William Macdowall of Castle Semple, formerly of St. Kitt's in the West Indies, with whose coming another chapter of Glasgow's history may be said to have begun. Shawfield himself, nevertheless, still remained member of Parliament for Glasgow and the neighbouring burghs.⁶

³ *Burgh Records*, 28th July, 1725.

⁴ *Ibid.* 26th May, 1726.

⁵ Senex, *Glasgow Past and Present*, ii. 239. Senex states that, when a hundred and fifty years later, Islay was sold to Mr. Morrison by the Royal Bank of Scotland, the price was £400,000.

⁶ Mitchell, *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 20.

CHAPTER XVII

CAMPBELL OF SHAWFIELD AND HIS COMPENSATION

AFTER the first run of the great tobacco trade with Virginia, which followed the Union, had brought the promise of wealth to Glasgow, the city fathers seem to have seen their way to the spending of money on a considerable scale. Between the years 1721 and 1723 quite a number of large developments were undertaken. Chief of these, perhaps, so far as the comfort of the townspeople was concerned, was the causewaying of the streets. Previously these thoroughfares—wynds and gates and vennels—must have been anything but easy for traffic, mere earthen surfaces with stones of any size thrown into the ruts. Only on the bridges, and at one or two special points of heavy traffic, had anything in the way of a causeway been attempted, and hitherto, at the rare intervals when work of this sort fell to be done, an expert had to be brought in. Thus, in 1578, a “calsay maker” was borrowed from Dundee, the Provost and bailies undertaking to return him to that town at the following Michaelmas. But now the magistrates proceeded vigorously with the work, and ultimately made a contract with two “cawssiers” to pave and maintain all the public thoroughfares of the town. The contract was for fifteen years, at £1000 Scots (£83 sterling) yearly for the first four years, and 1000 merks (£55 sterling) yearly for the remaining eleven.¹

Another important work was the repair of the High Church. Evidently the building had fallen sadly out of repair. Some of

¹ *Burgh Records*, 13th Jan. 1722, 7th March, 1728.

the stonework had fallen down, the walls required pointing, and the roof leaked. There were holes in the floor of the inner church or choir, the lintels of doors had given way, and three of the "lofts" or galleries required to be renewed. Moreover, the gateway to the churchyard required to be widened "for the conveniency for the corpse entering." A complete overhaul was undertaken, and the city accounts for some time record large payments for lead and other materials used in the work.²

The increase in the town's river traffic, again, passing up and down from Port-Glasgow, called for more accommodation at the harbour, and the Town Council set about an extension of the quay from the Broomielaw to the Dowcat or Old Green. The consent of the Trades House, and, strangely enough, with more reluctance, of the Merchants House, was obtained for the expenditure of £10,000 on the work. The money was to be taken out of the excise duty of "two pennies on the pint" of ale consumed in the town, for which the grant to the Town Council had been continued by Parliament, and on the strength of which so many expensive enterprises were undertaken. In this case, no doubt, the expenditure was really wise and necessary enough, though three years later, when the "two pennies on the pint" were seized by Government for the payment of the compensation to Campbell of Shawfield for the malt tax riot, the magistrates must have looked at the undertaking rather ruefully.³

More ambitious still, and perhaps hardly so necessary, was the making of a complete new thoroughfare from Trongate to Briggate. For this purpose large purchases of property had to be made, and for some time the Town Council minutes contain constant references to the making of bargains with the owners of houses and ground required for the formation of the new street. Considerable attention was paid to the details of the buildings to be erected in this new thoroughfare, and in its

² *Ibid.* 25th March, 1721.

³ *Ibid.* 22nd June, 1722.

time King Street, running southward opposite Candleriggs, was probably the best built part of the city.⁴

In King Street, entered by spacious ornamental gateways, stood the covered markets, that on the east side for butcher-meat and those on the west side for fish, mutton, and cheese respectively. With their pump wells, and other conveniences, these markets, according to Gibson (*History*, p. 149), were "justly admired, as being the completest of their kind in Britain."

The magistrates even went considerably afield with their expenditure. It happened that a congregation of dissenters at Atherton in Lancashire had enjoyed the privilege from the lord of the manor of a site for their meeting-house since the year 1645. In the late rebellion, however, they had raised three hundred men for the Government, and had taken part under General Wills in defeating and capturing the Jacobite force at Preston. For their zeal in this matter they had been deprived of their chapel by the present owner of the ground, and were compelled to build a new meeting-house for themselves. As they were "chiefly of such as live upon their daily labour, and many under the charity of others," they were "under necessity of requesting the help and assistance of friends and fellow Christians." "In view of their steadiness and firmness for his Majesty's Government," the magistrates agreed to subscribe the sum of ten pounds sterling towards the new chapel.⁵

By far the heaviest expense of all, however, was incurred in the buying of the Walkinshaw estate of Barrowfield already

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 19th April, 1720, *et seq.* In forming King Street and building St. David's Church at the head of Candleriggs, the Town Council of 1720 showed a fine sense of town planning. They were creating a noble street avenue with a notable architectural feature closing the vista. The same idea was carried out at a later day when the vista of Buchanan Street was closed with St. Enoch's Church, and the vista of George Street with St. George's. This idea was evidently overlooked when St. Enoch's Church was demolished a few years ago.

⁵ *Ibid.* 8th June, 1723.

referred to.⁶ If the city had been able to retain possession of that estate, on which the thickly populated quarter of Bridgeton is now built, as well as the still larger estate of Provan further north, the "Common Good" of Glasgow might have been enormously more wealthy at the present hour. But as in the case of the old Archbishop's lands about the burgh, which had come into its possession in Queen Mary's time, the Town Council seems to have been unable to make these estates pay their way. From first to last Glasgow has somehow found the possession of a country estate to be merely an expensive luxury which sooner or later it has deemed it desirable to get rid of on the best terms possible. The moiety of the estate of Gorbals has been perhaps the one exception.

In the early twenties of the eighteenth century, it will be seen, the spirit of those in charge of the public affairs of Glasgow was courageous and enterprising. That spirit, as well as the spirit of the ordinary citizens, received a check, first from the obstacles thrown in the way of the rising tobacco trade by Government, at the instigation of the English merchants, and next by the malt tax riot and the heavy burden it threw upon the town's revenues in order to pay compensation to the owner of the Shawfield Mansion.⁷ It looked as if the community, recently so obviously on the high road to prosperity, were about to be crushed under a succession of misfortunes.

Campbell of Shawfield, it must be confessed, makes anything but a handsome figure in the story of Glasgow at that time. From first to last he was self-seeking and grasping, never missing a chance to enrich himself at the expense of his constituents, and doing little or nothing to support and defend the interests of the city which had honoured him by sending him to Parliament. We have already seen how he exacted an

⁶ *Ibid.* 9th Dec. 1723.

⁷ The compensation was over five times the amount of the town's ordinary annual revenue.—Mitchell, *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 20.

exorbitant fee for his services in securing repayment of the town's expenditure on Jacobite prisoners, and how he demanded immediate payment of the large debt of Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, which had been taken over by the Town Council. Most crushing of all was the huge compensation award of £6080 for the damage done to his house by the malt-tax rioters, which he allowed to be saddled upon the city. Still later, when, at the election of 1727, a "double return" was made, and the city unequivocally showed that it wished John Blackwood to be its parliamentary representative, Shawfield obstinately refused to give way, and secured the annulment of Blackwood's election by order of the House of Commons.⁸ In view of these facts, it is not difficult to believe that the rumour was well founded which attributed to Shawfield the furnishing of information to Glasgow's English rivals which stopped the progress of the city's tobacco trade for a dozen years.

The immense award of £6080 damages to Daniel Campbell upset the whole finances of the city, and had far-reaching consequences upon the fortunes of Glasgow. By that addition the town's debt was increased to the then enormous sum of £14,000 sterling,⁹ and the city fathers might well look with something like dismay on the prospect of toiling through the bog of embarrassments which lay before them. It is interesting to note the means they took to clear themselves.

In the first place, in order to be rid of the uncertainties of the repayment of Campbell's £6080 out of the Excise of 2d. in the pint, with the expenses, deductions, and uncertainties likely to arise in dealings with a Government office, they resolved forthwith to borrow and pay up the whole sum.¹⁰ By this means the debt was funded, and the town was left to collect the 2d. in the pint for its own behoof in the most economic way possible.

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 29th Jan., 28th Mar. 1728 ; 21st Jan. 1729.

⁹ *Burgh Records*, 13th Dec. 1726.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 10th, 13th and 31st Dec. 1726.

The next move took place three years later. By that time the Town Council had apparently become convinced that the management of their newly-acquired country estates of Provan and Barrowfield was not likely to prove profitable. They accordingly advertised these estates for sale "by the publick prints." After an offer by William Stirling, merchant, London, to acquire the Provan estate at twenty-four years' purchase of the advertised rental, and a feu-duty of one-third of the rent, or thirty-one years' purchase for an absolute right, the Town Council disposed of the property to a syndicate of five merchants at twenty-six years' purchase and a feu-duty of one-third of the rent. After deduction of the teind the purchase price was £64,495 12s. Scots (£5374 12s. 8d. sterling), while the annual feu-duty was £1240 6s. Scots (£103 6s. 11d. sterling).¹ The Town Council further definitely ordered that the money received was to be applied entirely to the payment of the town's debt.

In the following year, as already mentioned, Barrowfield was sold outright to John Orr for the sum of £10,000 sterling.²

At the same time the lands of Wester Common were disposed of to James Rae, merchant, for a yearly feu-duty of one hundred merks and an unnamed capital sum which, on the basis of the sale of Provan, would amount to 7800 merks, or £433 6s. 8d. sterling.³

At the same period another money transaction, this time of somewhat doubtful character, was carried out by the town. A certain William Mitchell, merchant in London, had bequeathed a sum of £2000 sterling for the erection of a free school and the help of some poor people in Glasgow. His will

¹ *Burgh Records*, 1st to 19th Aug. 1729. See *supra*, p. 17.

² *Ibid.* 27th Aug., 29th Sept. 1730. The new laird of Barrowfield was a notable Glasgow citizen. He was a bailie in 1719, and Rector of the University in 1734, and he gave £500 sterling to the College library.—Senex, *Old Glasgow*, p. 11.

³ *Ibid.* 18th June, 1730.

directed that, three months after his death, the money should be invested in land near Glasgow. The testator probably had in view the directions given by George and Thomas Hutcheson in the previous century for the investment of their bequests, and, had his wishes been carried out, it is possible that his charity might have been not less valuable than that of the Hutchesons at the present hour. But the money was lodged with the Town Clerk and applied in payment of several bonds due by the town, and, instead of investing it in land, the magistrates and council hit upon the plan of deferring that proceeding, and meanwhile merely granting a bond to make the money forthcoming at some unspecified time, and to apply the interest in all time coming to the purposes specified by the testator. As a result the capital sum still remains £2000, and the interest, some £113, is paid to indigent persons qualified as burgesses of the Merchant and Trades rank.⁴

Still another means of securing a sum of ready money was suggested by the proposal of two residents in Port-Glasgow, John Lyon and Hugh Milliken, to take a "tack," or lease, of the city's interest in that place. They offered, in return for the revenues of Port-Glasgow and the Royal Fisheries Close in Greenock, with the thirlage of sixteen pence payable by the inhabitants on every boll of malt brewed in the Port, to pay a fixed annual sum, build a new quay and breastwork, pay the stipends of minister and schoolmaster, keep the city's property, dwelling-houses, and warehouses in good repair, and meet all other ordinary expenses usually payable by the Town Council. Nothing came of the proposal at the time, but two years later it was carried out, and the town's interest in the Port was put up to auction, and leased for three years to Robert Boyd, a Glasgow merchant, for 1810 merks yearly.⁵

By these means Glasgow's debt was paid off, and the

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 27th Aug. 1730.

⁵ *Ibid.* 18th June, 1730; 4th January and 13th July, 1732.

finances of the city were restored to a healthy condition. At least one other useful purpose was served by the emergency. The Town Council was freed from the details of estate management which had threatened to engross its time and energies, and was left to devote itself to the more legitimate functions of government. No longer worried with the adjusting of fences and signing of leases, it could devote its attention to the keeping of the peace and administering of justice, and with these objects in view proceeded to appoint a bailie of Provan, an appointment which remains till the present day one of the most esteemed in the gift of the Town Council.⁶

⁶ *Ibid.* 4th March, 1731. The bailieship of Provan is to-day an honorary post which is filled by the Town Council annually in November. The person appointed is usually a retired councillor who has rendered notable service to the city.

CHAPTER XVIII

COLONEL WILLIAM MACDOWALL AND THE WEST INDIA TRADE

CAMPBELL of Shawfield never returned to his famous mansion at the West Port. There might have been another malt-tax riot, and he might not have had timely warning on a second occasion. While he faded out of the picture, so far as the intimate life of Glasgow was concerned, and was known only as an insistent creditor demanding his pound of flesh, his place was taken by a personage of very different sort.

Colonel William Macdowall was a cadet of an ancient family, the Macdowalls of Garthland in Galloway. He and a fellow-officer, Major James Milliken, while quartered in the island of St. Kitts, in the West Indies, had wooed and won two heiresses of the island, owners of great sugar estates, the Widow Tovie, whose maiden name had been Mary Stephen, and her daughter Mary. Returning to Scotland, Colonel Macdowall in 1727 bought the fine Renfrewshire estate of Castle Semple, for centuries the home of the Barons Sempill, and six years later Major Milliken bought the neighbouring estate of Johnston, to which he gave his own name of Milliken, its name to-day. In the same year Macdowall acquired from Daniel Campbell the great Shawfield Mansion in the Trongate of Glasgow, and with his fellow-officer of previous years settled to business in the city.

It has almost been forgotten that the sugar trade of Glasgow was at least as old as the tobacco trade. According to Cromwell's commissioner, Tucker, writing in 1651, certain Glasgow

merchants had ventured their ships as far as Barbadoes, Britain's oldest sugar colony, but had met with such losses through having to return late in the year that they had ceased to make the attempt. The sugar refiners of Glasgow—there were ultimately at least four "sugar houses," or refineries, in the city—were forced to depend for their supplies of the raw material upon Bristol, at that time the chief sugar port of Europe.

By the arrival of the sugar heiresses and their husbands from St. Kitts all this was changed. The ships with their sugar cargoes came into Port-Glasgow, and Glasgow itself became the market for their sugar and rum. Thus the Glasgow "sugar houses" got their supplies direct from the sugar estates, and thus was founded in reality the great West India trade of the city.¹

The story of the great business founded by the two ex-officers forms one of the most brilliant and tragic romances of Glasgow trade. The two founded the West India house of James Milliken & Co., out of which, in alliance with the Houstons of Jordanhill and the Raes of Little Govan, grew the great West India business of Alexander Houston & Co. For three-quarters of a century the firm carried on an immense trade, owning ships and sugar estates on a vast scale, and when the crash came, in 1795, it was the greatest failure Glasgow had ever seen.² That, however, was in the time of the grandsons of Colonel Macdowall.

Meanwhile, till his death in 1748, the Colonel continued to inhabit the finest residence in Glasgow, and, with his fine presence, was probably the most notable figure in town. Owner of a noble mansion in the country and a rich estate in the West Indies, with ships on the seas and cargoes of sugar and rum constantly coming home, he had also the social prestige

¹ Brown, *History of Glasgow*, ii. 332.

² *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. 223.

of his army rank and his long family descent, and must have held the regard of everyone as he stepped, with his tall gold-headed cane, along the causeway. Moreover, his coming had opened up new prospects of wealth for the city.

Of his partner, Major Milliken, less has been said. He had, perhaps happily, no son to succeed him, so his fortune escaped disaster when the crash came. His daughter and heiress married General William Napier, a lineal descendant of the inventor of logarithms, and became the ancestress of the baronet house of Milliken Napier, which has given several distinguished soldiers to the service of the crown.

Meanwhile, in the third decade of the century, in which Colonel Macdowall and Major Milliken came to the city, Glasgow saw the introduction and development of more than one industry. John Gibson, in his *History of Glasgow*, notes that the spirit of manufacture was raised in the city between the years 1725 and 1750, and attributes it to the needs of the commerce with America. From about that time, at any rate, many new industries dated their origin.

There had formerly, for example, been a "pighouse," or pottery, outside the Gallowgate port, for supplying the citizens with earthenware. For some reason it had become derelict, when William Marshall in 1722 obtained permission to build "a little house" on the same spot, and proceed again with the making of "pigs, potts, and other earthen vessell." Evidently the enterprise succeeded, for the "Pighouse" remained one of the noted features of the city for many a day.³

A kindred enterprise, the making of green glass bottles, was started in 1730, and its factory, the "Bottlehouse lum," on the spot where the Customhouse now stands, appears in many early prints of the city.⁴

Again, the manufacture of cotton and linen handkerchiefs was evidently an established business, affording employment

³ *Burgh Records*, 8th May, 1722.

⁴ Cleland, *Annals*, p. 371.

to a considerable number of persons, when it was threatened with disaster by the action of certain of the manufacturers. These individuals sought to increase their profits by substituting "logwood or false colours" for the more expensive indigo dye, and by making the handkerchiefs "shorter in length than they are in breadth." To save the credit and prosperity of the industry the city fathers stepped in, and ordered that the handkerchiefs must be woven square and of certain standard sizes, and that no logwood or false colours must be used in the dyeing, under pain of fine and imprisonment.⁵

A further development of the linen manufacture took place when William and Andrew Gray proceeded to establish a cambric factory and a bleaching field in the outskirts of the city. In their application to the Town Council for the feu-right of an additional piece of outfield on the Provan estate they mentioned that for several years they had been desirous of improving the manufacture of linen, had been at great expense in travelling through various parts of Europe to obtain "the art and mysterie of whytening linen cloath," and had purchased "all the materials, machines, and instruments necessary thereto." The business thus started was the beginning of the great bleaching and printing industry which has been one of the staple enterprises of Glasgow and its neighbourhood from that day till this, and out of which at a later period grew the vast chemical manufactures of the city.⁶

Also, in the year in which Colonel Macdowall settled in the city, and perhaps in consequence of that event, a new sugar-house, or refinery, Glasgow's fourth, was established in King

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 11th March, 1726.

⁶ *Ibid.* 30th Nov. 1727. The art of flax-spinning and cambric-making was considered so important that the commissioners and trustees for improving fisheries and manufactures in Scotland gave an annual grant of £30 sterling for the teaching of it, and a special girls' school for the purpose was established in Glasgow, with the widow of the minister of Cardross as its mistress. (*Ibid.* 21st Oct. 1728; 18th March, 1729.)

Street. The value of land in the heart of the city at that time may be judged from the fact that for the site, at the corner of King Street and Prince's Street, the proprietors of the sugar-house paid the town's treasurer £1100 Scots. As the ground measured just 1100 square ells, the price was exactly £1 Scots, or 1s. 8d. sterling, per square ell.⁷

Four years afterwards appeared the first sign of the great iron industry upon which so much of the prosperity of modern Glasgow was to be built. So far the city had imported all its iron ware, first through Leith, and later directly from overseas. The first sign of a mighty coming change was the petition of "William Telfer, hammerman, craving a piece of the Skinners' Green for iron founding and making of pots."⁸ In the following year, according to Gibson, ironmongery began to be made for export by several gentlemen, who took the name of the Smithfield Company.

Another industry introduced at that time had something of the element of romance in its inception. The making of incle, or linen tape, was begun in the city in 1732. Till that time the Dutch, who had machines capable of turning out many hundreds of yards per day, were almost solely in possession of the industry. Mr. Hervey, however, a Glasgow merchant, paid a visit to Haarlem, and at considerable risk managed to smuggle two of the incle looms out of the country. He also brought over one of the Dutch workmen, and set up a successful factory which gave the name of Incle Street to the thoroughfare afterwards renamed Montrose Street in honour of the city's ducal family which had its "lodging" in the Drygate.⁹

On the other hand, curiously enough, the "soaperie," or soap factory, which had been established in Candleriggs in

⁷ *Burgh Records*, 20th March, 1727.

⁸ *Ibid.* 13th May, 1731.

⁹ Gibson's *History of Glasgow*, p. 241; Cleland's *Annals*, p. 371. A similar proceeding was followed by the sister-in-law of Fletcher of Saltoun in introducing the Dutch method of making pot barley to Scotland.

1685 by Sir George Maxwell and his partners, in connection with their famous Whale-fishing Company, appears to have been finding itself in difficulties. As its payment of feu-duty had fallen into arrears, the town's collectors pounded sixty-six firkins of its soap. Thereupon the partners appealed to the Town Council, pleaded their great losses, and asked for terms. The city fathers duly considered the matter, and, no doubt anxious to preserve a useful industry in the city, informed the soap-makers that if they would pay £60 sterling within two months, the sum would be accepted as payment, not only of the feu-duties then in arrears, but of all future feu-duties as well. As the four partners were all substantial persons the sixty pounds were paid, the soaperie was freed from feu-duty, and the sixty-six firkins were duly returned to the factory. The industry was carried on till 1777, when the factory was burned.¹⁰

While these developments were going on, and additional foundations were being laid for the building of the future greatness of Glasgow, the life of the city was not without its sadder and darker side. From the Correction House, which had been established in the interest of public morals, there were shipments of women to the plantations in Virginia. The sum paid to merchants for the transportation of these unfortunates was no more than £1 sterling per head, so the merchants must have made their account with the sums obtainable from the planters, and the women were virtually sold into slavery for a longer or shorter period of years.¹

The problem also of providing for the poor of the city in some regular and comprehensive way now forced itself upon the attention of the citizens. For centuries the city had possessed "hospitals," or almshouses, like Blackadder's and Bishop Muirhead's and George Hutcheson's, founded by private

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 20th March, 18th May, 1727; Cleland's *Annals*, p. 367.

¹ *Burgh Records*, 21st Sept. 1727; 5th May, 1729.

individuals, for the shelter of the aged poor, while the Merchants House and the Trades House looked after their own decayed members in quite efficient fashion. The Town Council also had tried to rid itself of common beggars by banishing them from the city. There was now, however, coming into evidence in the community a growing number of poor for whom no provision was available, individuals who through inefficiency or ill-fortune or ill-doing had become derelict and unable to find a living for themselves. The first suggestion of an organised system to take charge of these people was made by the General Session of the city churches. It suggested to the Town Council the erection of a "workhouse or manufactory" for maintaining and employing the poor. The Town Council consulted the Merchants House and the Trades House, and stated the purpose in somewhat stronger language to be "for employing and entertaining the poor and restraining the scandalous practice of idle begging, and encouraging of virtue and industry." Voluntary contributions were asked for from well-disposed persons, and enough money was obtained from this source for the building of the workhouse. For its maintenance the Town Council guaranteed a yearly sum of £140 sterling, the Merchants House £60, the Trades House £120, and the General Session £250. Directors were appointed to represent each of the four bodies, and the building, known as the Town's Hospital, was duly erected near the eastern end of the Old Green.²

The building of this "hospital" marked a new departure in public policy with regard to the poor. It committed the citizens definitely to the responsibility of providing for the derelicts of the community, and was the beginning of one of the "social services" which have grown to such enormous proportions at the present day. It is worth noting that the directors were instructed "to inspect not only the poor's work and expense, but also their morals, and see to the educa-

² *Burgh Records*, 2nd Dec. 1729 ; 7th Jan., 28th Feb. 1731 ; 4th Jan. 1732.

tion of the young, that they be taught to read, and instructed in the principles of Christianity." The directors appear to have carried out their work faithfully, and the institution to have been a model of its kind, mentioned with high commendation in all descriptions of the city. Writing of it in 1736, McUre says : " The building is of modern fashion, and exceeds that of any kind in Europe, and admired by strangers," who say that " anything of that kind at Rome or Venice comes not up to the magnificence of this building, when it is finished, resembling more a palace than a habitation for necessitous old people and children."

In more instances than one, however, the developments of Glasgow at that time strike a curiously modern note. A distinct break with mediaeval customs was made, for example, when in 1726 the traditional proceedings of the " land meithing day " were given up. From time immemorial, on the first Tuesday of June, this perambulation of the town's marches had taken place, and had afforded an opportunity for popular sport and enjoyment such as is afforded by the riding of the marches in Hawick and other Border towns at the present day. Of late, however, the ceremony had been made the occasion, on the day itself, and the night before, of a number of abuses committed by boys, servants, and others, amounting to a disturbance of the peace, while a number of undesirable customs had crept into the observance. The Town Council therefore ordered that the land meithing should cease, and that the dean of guild and the deacon-convener, with some members of their houses, should go round the marches by themselves some time in May, and make a report to the magistrates on the first Tuesday in June, on the occasion of the roup of the town's tolls and customs.³ In this way an ancient occasion of merry-making, which had survived the severities of the Reformation and the austerities of the Covenant, was brought to an end.

³ *Ibid.* 12th April, 1726.

The spirit of the proceedings may probably be gathered from the descriptions of similar mediaeval junketings at Falkland and Peebles furnished in King James V's well-known poems, *Christ's Kirk on the Green* and *Peebles to the Play*.

Another touch of modernity is shown by a proposal made by certain of the heritors or house-owners of the city. The proposal was for a mutual insurance of houses and tenements against damage by fire. There is said to have been something of the nature of a primitive fire insurance practised among the early Anglo-Saxon guilds; but this suggestion in the year 1726 is the first appearance of the device in the annals of Glasgow. In a spirit of enlightenment the Town Council agreed to support the proposal, and empowered the Provost to sign the compact, and insure the corner house recently built by the Council itself opposite the Tolbooth at the cross.⁴

Again, the growth of a modern regard for town-planning and other amenities was shown by an order that no building should be done within the city boundaries without licence from the Dean of Guild;⁵ and a growing appreciation of the needs of public health was evident in the fact that, beginning in 1729, the numerous open draw-wells which supplied the citizens with water, and which had from time immemorial been worked with chain and bucket, were one after another covered in, and provided with hand-pumps.⁶

But amid these changes the city fathers did not cease to show their shrewd appreciation of the unchanging facts of human nature. Experience had apparently taught them that personal interest was a valuable incentive to efficiency of management, and again and again the conviction was turned to account. To prevent evasion of "thirlage" or payment of certain dues in Port-Glasgow, for example, these dues were roused for a definite payment to a private tacksman, and even

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 12th April, 1726. See also *infra* chap. xxvi.

⁵ *Ibid.* 21st Oct. 1728.

⁶ *Ibid.* 26th Sept. 1729 *et seq.*

the seat rents of the churches were farmed out to a private collector in the same way. These individuals, it may be taken for granted, made sure that dues and rents were promptly and fully paid.⁷ The transaction applied to Port-Glasgow the practice which had long been followed in Glasgow itself, of farming out taxes like the bridge toll, the dues of the tron, and the thirlage of the meal mills, and which had apparently been found a satisfactory policy.

⁷ *Burgh Records*, 11th Dec. 1725; 29th April, 13th May, 1731. This farming out of the thirlage took place, of course, before the farming out of the whole of the city's interest in Port-Glasgow described in Chapter XVII.

CHAPTER XIX

JAMES MACRAE, GOVERNOR OF MADRAS, AND GLASGOW'S FIRST EQUESTRIAN STATUE

It is not commonly known that Glasgow possesses what are probably the earliest portrait sculptures in Scotland. It is matter of frequent regret that no contemporary portraits exist of the great national heroes, Sir William Wallace and King Robert the Bruce. Of Wallace there is nothing but the verbal description by Henry the Minstrel, and of King Robert there is only the rather unreliable representation on a few coins of his reign. Glasgow, however, possesses authentic portraits of royal and notable personages of fifty years' earlier date. The only earlier portrait of any kind known to exist in Scotland is contained in an illumination in the Kelso chartulary, which is believed to represent King David I. The Glasgow sculptures form bosses in the vaulting of the lower church of the Cathedral, and are believed to date from about the year 1248, and to represent King Alexander II., Bishop William de Bondington, Comyn, Lord of Kilbride, and his lady, and King Alexander III. as a boy. All these personages were concerned with the completion of the building of the Cathedral, and their likenesses are vivid and realistic after the lapse of nearly seven centuries.¹ Next in date of portrait sculptures in possession of the city is the bust of the redoubtable Zachary Boyd, minister of the Barony, whose faithful dealing with Oliver Cromwell on his

¹ Casts of these sculptures, made for the Scottish National History Exhibition of 1911, are to be seen in the city's Art Galleries at Kelvingrove.

visit to the city in 1651 is a familiar tradition. For two centuries it occupied a niche above the doorway in the quadrangle of the old College in High Street, and now occupies a place of honour in the University at Gilmorehill. Of about the same period are the fine statues of the brothers Hutcheson, founders of Hutchesons' Hospital and Schools, which at first stood on each side of the tower of the original hospital in Trongate, looking northward over the garden acre, and which now look down Hutcheson Street from the front of the more modern building.

Next in date came Glasgow's first equestrian statue, the representation of King William II. and III., which stood for more than a century and a half at Glasgow Cross, but, as part of the work of widening the thoroughfares, has now been removed to a grassy plot among the trees in Cathedral Square. This statue was presented to the city in 1734 by a very remarkable personage, whose figure, as he passed along the streets in his gold-laced hat and coat, must have been regarded by most of the townsfolk with not a little curious awe. The steed and its rider were looked upon by the citizens of its time with pride and wonder. John McUre, whose *History of Glasgow* was published just two years after the erection of the statue, bursts into enthusiastic song on the subject :

Methinks the steed doth spread with corps the plain,
Tears up the turf, and pulls the curbing rein,
Exalts his thunder neck and lofty crest,
To force through ranks and files his stately breast !
His nostrils glow, sonorous war he hears,
He leapeth, jumpeth, pricketh up his ears,
Hoofs up the turf, spreads havoc all around,
Till blood in torrents overflows the ground !

But the actual life story of the donor was still more calculated to inspire the epic muse. James Macrae was the son of a poor washerwoman at Ayr, and was born in 1677. Against his mother's wishes, it is said, he ran away to sea in 1692. The

years that followed are clouded with a good deal of mystery. The ship in which he sailed is said to have been captured by pirates, and it has even been suggested that Macrae himself sailed for a time, willingly or unwillingly, under the black flag. Ultimately he entered the service of the Honourable East India Company, and in 1720, as Captain Macrae, was sent on a special mission to the west coast of Siam. There he dealt so shrewdly and successfully with the commercial abuses which were imperilling trade, that on his return he was made Deputy Governor of Fort St. David. From that post he was promoted presently to Fort St. George, and in 1725 took over the Presidency of Madras. There he effected great reforms, reducing expenditure and rearranging the mint. At the same time he appears to have "shaken the pagoda tree" in not less effective fashion, for in 1731 he returned home with an immense fortune in specie and precious stones. In his native town he made enquiries regarding his mother. She was dead, but he learned that in her last years she had been cared for by her niece, Bell Gardner, the wife of Hugh McGuire, a joiner, who was also in request as a fiddler at penny weddings and other merrymakings, in the Newton of Ayr. McGuire and his wife had a family of four, a son and three daughters, and, by way of return, Macrae undertook to educate and provide for them. This he did in no perfunctory fashion. To the eldest, Lizzie, when she married the Earl of Glencairn, he gave the fine estate of Ochiltree, with diamonds, it is said, to the value of £40,000. The second daughter, Margaret, he dowered with the estate of Alva, and she married James Erskine of Barjarg, who, as a judge of the Court of Session, took the title of Lord Alva. The third daughter, Macrae, married Charles Dalrymple, sheriff-clerk of Ayr, and succeeded the benefactor of the family in the neighbouring estate of Orangefield. To the son, James McGuire, who adopted the name Macrae, the nabob gave the Renfrewshire estate of Houston. The son of this laird of Houston was

the notorious swashbuckler who shot Sir George Ramsay in a duel on Musselburgh links, and was in consequence outlawed and died in poverty.

Meanwhile Macrae had become a burges of Glasgow, and presented the city in 1735 with the bronze equestrian statue of King William which, for over a century and a half, stood, the pride of the citizens, at the Cross.² He resided chiefly on his estate of Orangefield near Ayr, though in the title-deeds of that property he is designated as " of Blackheath in Kent " ; and he died at Orangefield on 21st July, 1744. But Glasgow was still to benefit in another detail from the wealth of the mysterious old nabob. In December, 1745, when Prince Charles Edward and his army took up their quarters in the city, and made heavy demands for money and clothing, Macrae's adoptive son-in-law, the Earl of Glencairn, lent the magistrates £1500 at 4½ per cent. to meet the requisition.³ Macrae himself lies in Monkton churchyard, where a monument was erected to his memory in 1750.⁴

The gift of King William's statue was all the more acceptable to the citizens of Glasgow, since it made a very elegant ornament for the front of their new Town Hall and Assembly Rooms, the erection of which followed almost immediately.

² A curious and perhaps unique feature of the statue is the horse's tail, which is hung on a ball and socket joint, and waves in the wind. Four cannon planted at the corners of the pedestal in the statue's original situation are said to have been relics from King William's great victory at the Boyne. (*Burgh Records*, 24th March, 1737.) Two of these cannon have disappeared. The remaining two, no longer required to protect the pedestal from street traffic after the removal of the statue to Cathedral Square, were presented to the author of these pages by the Town Council in 1932.

³ It was the son of this Earl of Glencairn and Lizzie McGuire who proved so useful a friend to Robert Burns when he made his first venture in Edinburgh, and he owed his information regarding the poet to his cousin, the laird of Orangefield.

⁴ *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. 29 ; *Glasgow Past and Present*, i. 362 ; *Paterson's History of Ayrshire*, 596 ; *Cochrane Correspondence in Maitland Club*, p. 123 ; *Cleland's Annals*, i. 102 ; *Burgh Records*, 2nd January and 23rd July, 1733, 15th September, 1736.

Until the eighteenth century there was no place of public meeting in the city, and the Town Council held its deliberations in the Tolbooth. As early as the year 1400, and perhaps much earlier, a pretorium, tolbooth, or seat of the civic authority, had stood at the market cross, on the site adjoining the existing Tolbooth steeple. The stone with the city arms now built into the wall of that steeple is said to be a relic of this early pretorium. Its carving is held by experts to be work of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, the salmon supporters of the shield bearing a close resemblance to the same insignia in the Cathedral chapter-house. About 1560, the time of the Reformation, when the civic authorities began to aspire to independence of their ancient superiors, the archbishops, the early pretorium was taken down, and a second Tolbooth built on its site. This continued in use till 1626, when the really fine building was erected, of which the remaining Tolbooth steeple formed a part. For over a century this building continued to serve both as a prison and as the meeting-place of the Town Council and the Town Clerk's office.

The Town Council, however, had begun to feel the need of more spacious accommodation. Accordingly the foundation stone of the first Glasgow Town Hall was laid by Provost Coulter in 1736 on the site adjoining the Tolbooth in Tron-gate, where the town house and place of business of George Hutcheson had formerly stood.⁵ The building had an arcaded front with Corinthian pilasters, and the keystones of the six arches were ornamented with grotesque faces from the chisel of the builder's foreman, Mungo Naismith, which long excited the wonder of the gaping crowd, and some of which, after more than one removal, figured later in the cornice of Messrs. Fraser and Sons warehouse at the foot of Buchanan

⁵ The tenement on the site was bought from John Graham of Dougalston for £840, and the "lands" in its rear for £122 10s. (*Burgh Records*, 2nd May, 18th November, 1735.)

Street.⁶ There were three chambers in the top storey for clerks and committee meetings, a splendid apartment on the first floor with six large windows, a twelve-foot marble fireplace, and a magnificent domed ceiling. This formed the new meeting place of the Town Council and was decorated with the royal portraits. Another fine apartment, 47 feet long, provided an Assembly Room for fashionable gatherings. There was also a coffee-room, which, like the arcade in front of the building, served as an exchange, while on the ground level, behind the covered arcade, were four shops.⁷

When the building was finished in 1740 the Town Council moved out of the Tolbooth (there was a connecting doorway from the Tolbooth stair) and proceeded to hold its meetings in the more spacious quarters.⁸

At the same time social fashions and ideas were changing. The strictness of the Covenanting spirit was being modified by wider and more generous views of life acquired from increasing intercourse with the world abroad. As early as 1723 there had been started in Edinburgh a weekly "assembly" at which young people met for the purpose of dancing. The ball there opened at four in the afternoon, and closed strictly at eleven. Tickets, without which there was no

⁶ Strang, *Glasgow and Its Clubs*, p. 9. When the spire of the Cathedral was struck by lightning in 1756, Mungo Naismith was the genius who devised the scaffolding for its repair. When the Town Hall was taken over and extended by the Tontine syndicate in 1781, four masks were added by another hand, and the carvings altogether got the name of the "Tontine Faces." There was also another "mason and carver," David Cation, who, with an apprentice, spent fifty-nine weeks in decorating the new Town Hall, and who carved most of the capitals and other sculptured decorations in the new St. Andrew's Church (*Burgh Records*, 22nd September, 1741).

⁷ *Burgh Records*, 26th October, 1738; Gibson's *History*, p. 144.

⁸ The Tolbooth of 1626 survived till 1814, when it was taken down by Dr. Cleland, Glasgow's superintendent of works and annalist, who erected a tenement for bank and offices on its site. This building in turn was demolished in 1915, when the High Street was widened, and, after much debate, the old Tolbooth steeple was left standing by itself in the middle of the thoroughfare.

admission, were half a crown each, and discreet matrons ruled the proceedings and upheld the proprieties with a rod of iron.⁹

Notwithstanding the opposition of the stricter sort of ministers, and the writings of perfervid Cameronians like Patrick Walker, who regarded dancing and all social enjoyment as actual lures of the devil, the fashion was not likely to be long in reaching Glasgow. For some time the teaching of dancing had been subsidised by the magistrates, one Daniel Barrell, a dancing master, being paid £10 a year "for his encouragement."¹⁰ So far, however, there was no hall in the city available for the holding of social gatherings of this kind. There was only a small assembly room, built by subscription, in the Trongate. But the opening of the grand new Town Hall and Assembly Rooms made a new departure, and thenceforth, on the evenings of these social occasions, sedan chairs in numbers were to be seen making their way along the dim-lit streets, to set their fair burdens down at the doors of this new and fashionable gathering place.¹

A still more important undertaking of the same date was the building of St. Andrew's Church. The enterprise may have served to placate the more serious minded of the citizens, as the new church was not too urgently required, and the preparations for it, as well as the actual work of erection, were spread over a period of years. The town, however, had been divided into six parishes, and so far there were only five churches and a meeting-house to provide for them. There were the Inner and the Outer High Churches, occupying the Cathedral, the Laigh or Tron Church near the Cross, the Blackfriars Church in High Street, and the North-west or St. David's Church at the Ramshorn. The sixth congregation was accommodated in a meeting-house

⁹ Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, iii. 480.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 27th Sept. 1734.

¹ Strang, *Glasgow and Its Clubs*, p. 14.

in the New Wynd.² Besides these, there was, of course, the congregation of the Barony, or landward part of the ancient domain of the archbishops, which had its home in the crypt or lower church in the Cathedral. In 1722 the stipends of the six city ministers had been raised, out of the proceeds of the two pence per pint tax on ale, from £1080 Scots (£90 sterling), to 2000 merks (£111 sterling).³

There was no immediate hurry for the re-housing of the congregation in the New Wynd meeting-house, when in 1734 the Town Council began preparations by purchasing a "yard" or garden, belonging to Patrick Bell, on the south of the Gallowgate and the Molendinar. The price demanded was £300 sterling (twenty-four years' purchase) with the right to a table seat in the church to hold nine or ten persons, rent-free, to Patrick Bell and his heirs as long as they lived in the burgh.⁴ Further purchases of "alleys" and "yards" were made from "Fair John" Luke of Claythorn⁵ and others, and in course of time St. Andrew's Lane and St. Andrew's Street were opened from Gallowgate and Saltmarket respectively. Stone for the building was secured from the Crackling-house quarry, the site of the present Queen Street railway station, and the erection of the church was begun in 1740. Thirteen years later the work was still going on, when the meeting-house in the New Wynd threatened to collapse, and its materials were sold, "timber, glaswork and iron work and thatch roof." ⁶ The new place of worship was not opened till 1756, having been twenty years in preparation, but St. Andrew's Church remains till the present

² "The New Wynd Church was built by a party of privileged Presbyterians during the period when Episcopacy prevailed in Glasgow. It was covered with thatch, and opened in 1687."—Cleland, *Transactions of Glasgow and Clydesdale Statistical Society*, 1836, p. 19.

³ *Burgh Records*, v. p. xxiv.

⁴ *Ibid.* 25th June, 1734.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1st Nov. 1734, 24th June, 1735. The site of the Claythorn estate, patrimony of the Lukes for several generations, is commemorated in the name of Claythorn Street, off Gallowgate.

⁶ *Ibid.* 20th Feb. 1753.

day one of the noblest churches built for Presbyterian worship in the kingdom.⁷

The rate of progress of this building would seem to indicate some slowing down of the religious fervour of the community. These, nevertheless, were the years of the great ecclesiastical movement known as the Secession in the Church of Scotland. The movement owed a large part of its origin to certain occurrences in Glasgow itself. In the early years of the century there had been a growing feeling among the stricter adherents that the Church was becoming too tolerant of changing opinion, and too moderate in its own attitude towards life and thought. The first open clash of battle was brought about by the teaching of a professor in the University of Glasgow. John Simson, who occupied the Chair of Divinity in the College in High Street, was a metaphysical thinker suspected of teaching erroneous doctrines not far removed from the Rationalism of the present day. He was arraigned before the General Assembly on a charge of heresy, and the case dragged on before the church courts with protracted debates and ever-increasing bitterness, but without decision, for some fifteen years. While controversy was raging over the case, the Rev. Thomas Boston of Ettrick, author of *The Fourfold State*, discovered, among the few books left by a soldier who had died in his parish, an old volume, *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*, by Peter Fisher, an author of the Puritan period. The book fascinated him, was passed from hand to hand among his friends, and was presently republished as an awakening fiery blast against the Moderatism and toleration of the Church. In 1720 the General Assembly passed an Act denouncing the book, and forthwith there arose over it the great "Marrow" controversy, which was to have serious and far-reaching consequences.⁸

⁷ Its Corinthian pillars and other carved work were the handicraft of David Cation, whose charges and those of the other tradesmen were constantly being paid by the Town Council, and must have amounted altogether to a prodigious sum.

⁸ Hill Burton, viii. p. 399.

Feelings were further inflamed by an Act of the General Assembly in 1732, regulating the method of calling ministers to vacant churches. The Act ran on the lines of a model which had been adopted in Glasgow eleven years earlier, but with the important difference that the actual call was not to be made by the church members, but by the elders and heritors, who might be Episcopalians, Jacobites, or freethinkers.⁹ The quarrel reached a crisis when Ebenezer Erskine, moderator of the Synod of Stirling and Perth, preached a sermon before that body denouncing the General Assembly and all its works. From that hour the movement grew and the Secession Church gradually took form, denouncing in its "Testimony" not only the grievances of patronage and the toleration of popery, but the toleration of "the profane diversions of the stage, together with night assemblies and balls" and the repeal of the penal statutes against witches.¹⁰

In 1740 this first great secession from the Church of Scotland took effect in Glasgow, and a body of the seceders, forming themselves into an Associate Congregation, built themselves a church in Shuttle Street. Seven years later the seceders split over the question of the burgess oath, and the Antiburgers set up a church for themselves. And three years later still, as an outpost of the Church of England, St. Andrew's Episcopal Chapel beside Glasgow Green opened its doors.¹

The religious fervour of certain sections of the people of Glasgow and its neighbourhood at that period was no doubt increased by the visits of George Whitefield the evangelist.

⁹ *Burgh Records*, 25th April, 1721.

¹⁰ Hill Burton, viii. p. 408 and 409 note.

¹ *Burgh Records*, vi. p. xv. Previous to this there was a Scottish Episcopal congregation in the city. Survivors of the Revolution, its members gathered themselves together in 1703, and they met successively in various quarters, but they never had a regular built church till the nineteenth century, when they built St. Mary's in Renfield Street. It is this congregation which now worships in St. Mary's Cathedral, Great Western Road (Mitchell's *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 61.)

His great Calvinistic revival, the "Cambuslang Wark," took place in the summer months of 1742, and cannot have been without effect in the city, though the magistrates, in compliance with the orders of the Synod, are said to have refused him the use of the Cathedral churchyard when he returned six years later.²

² Whitefield visited Glasgow several times. In 1742 he led the Cambuslang "Wark"; in 1748, refused the Cathedral churchyard, he preached in a field near Gorbals; in 1753, permitted the churchyard, he preached the sermon which is said to have incited his hearers to destroy Glasgow's first theatre at hand; in 1757 at the request of the magistrates he preached a sermon which brought a collection of £58 for the poor of the city; and in 1758 he preached the sermon whose proceeds enabled the Highland Society to build the Black Bull Inn.

CHAPTER XX

RESULTS OF REVIVING TRADE

THE various developments of the time may be regarded as evidence that the fortunes of the city were recovering from the eclipse they had suffered through the jealous action of the London and Bristol merchants in endeavouring to suppress the promising tobacco trade of Glasgow. In Gibson's *History* the time of recovery is dated as about 1735. Judging from events it would appear that by that time the tide of prosperity was again in full flow. When Paisley, in the summer of 1733, suffered the disaster of a conflagration which destroyed a third part of the town, the Town Council at once organized a collection for the relief of the sufferers, and for immediate needs sent the bailies of Paisley a subscription of £40 sterling.¹

Three years later the city provided itself with a new peal of nineteen bells for the Tolbooth steeple at a cost of £311 1s. 9d. sterling.² And when Charles Miller, the provost who occupied the civic chair during the malt-tax riots of 1725, was found to have fallen upon evil days, so that "he had not whereupon to

¹ *Burgh Records*, 14th June, 1733.

² *Ibid.* 21st May, 1736. It cost a further £140 sterling to mount these new "musick bells" in the steeple, while £5 was paid for a small set of bells for practice purposes, and the musician, Roger Rodburn, was sent to Edinburgh to learn the art of playing upon them (*Ibid.* 2nd July and 15th Sept. 1736). Three years later the steeple bells were found to be out of tune and were remodelled in Edinburgh, while fourteen others were added, at a cost of £16 17s. 8d. sterling (*Ibid.* 9th March, 1739).

subsist," the Town Council promptly agreed to pay him an annuity of £40 sterling.³

At that time, quite suddenly and almost entirely, payments came to be reckoned in sterling, which was twelve times the value of the old Scots currency, the pound Scots being worth only 1s. 8d. sterling. Yet payments were made, and salaries and "gratifications" arranged, in the new coinage as cheerfully as they had been in the old, a pretty sure indication of the sudden growth of wealth in the city.

Quite obviously, the increasing prosperity was due in the first place to the growing trade with the tobacco planters of Virginia and the sugar planters of the West Indies. That trade was highly profitable in itself, but it also gave a direct and strong stimulus to the starting of industries in the city. To begin with, for the manufactured goods which they shipped out to pay for the tobacco cargoes which they brought home, the merchants had to rely upon purchases from England and the Continent. More and more rapidly, however, factories were established in the city itself, and the merchants were provided with goods for export at their own door.

An early outstanding example of this was the linen industry. The making of linen cloths, lawns, and cambrics was the first effort of the Glasgow looms, and, as an unlimited demand for these products came from across the Atlantic, the Town Council and merchants of the city did all they could to prosecute and perfect the linen industry. Note has been already made of the establishment of a spinning school in the city by the Trustees of Fisheries and Manufactures, and the appointment

³ *Burgh Records*, 24th June, 1735. In connection with this annuity an interesting transaction took place three years later. Matthew Cumming, the city's session clerk, was over eighty years of age, and he resigned his post in favour of Miller, on condition that the town should pay him an annuity of £25 sterling, and his wife, should she survive him, £10 yearly for life. By this arrangement the town was relieved of its annuity to Miller, and was enabled to provide for the aged session-clerk without further burden to the "Common Good."

of a salaried mistress for that school by the city fathers.⁴ Four years later an application was made by Andrew Aiton and Richard Allan for a piece of ground in the Old Vennel for the setting up of a weaving factory, convenient for the washing of yarn in the Molendinar.⁵ Three years later still a "society of linen dealers" induced the magistrates to grant a lease of the town's waulk mill on the Kelvin to be converted into a linen factory, and secured from the Trustees for Improving Manufactures of Linen a grant of £25 for the carrying out of the alterations, while the town advanced a similar sum by way of encouragement.⁶ There were technical difficulties in the way, however, as the home-grown lint, when woven into cloth, showed strips, bars, and rows which did not appear in cloth made of lint brought from Holland. Accordingly the Trustees brought a Dutch flax-dresser to Edinburgh, who prepared the ground for the seed, and watered, grassed, and dressed the lint in the foreign fashion. They further invited Glasgow to send a young man to learn the business from this Hollander, and they offered £5 to help to defray his expenses.⁷ A subsidy also was offered for the sowing of lint, which the Town Council increased by £10 sterling for three years.⁸ These details will serve to show the pains which were taken to foster the linen industry. Its progress, however, remained slow until Parliament came to its help. In 1748 an Act prohibited the importation or wearing of French cambrics; another Act in 1751 allowed weavers in flax or hemp to settle and ply their trade anywhere in Scotland free from all corporation dues; and gave a bounty of 1½d. per yard

⁴ *Supra*, chap. xviii.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 21st Oct. 1728, 5th Dec. 1732. In connection with this linen factory the first notice occurs of water being conveyed through pipes in the city. The supply was brought from "the four cisterns at the Spouts." At the same time the owner of a malt-kiln at the Cow Loan asked liberty to lead water from a well under the roadway into his kiln through a pipe (*Ibid.* 8th May, 1740).

⁶ *Ibid.* 28th March, 1735.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1st May, 1733.

⁸ *Ibid.* 27th Sept. 1734, 18th Nov. 1735.

on all linen exported at or under eighteenpence per yard. Upon these encouragements the business thrived apace, and it became a vast source of wealth, the most important Glasgow industry till it was superseded in the last quarter of the century by the weaving of cotton.⁹

The beginnings of the iron industry about the same time are also interesting. In 1734 the Town Council paid Robert McKell, a stranger millwright, a gratuity of £3 for making and perfecting the model of "ane engine for slitting and clipping of iron, and rolling of iron hoops," and a like sum was contributed for the inventor's encouragement by a number of private persons.¹⁰ The invention was evidently of practical value, for, four years later, three substantial burgesses, Robert Luke, goldsmith, and John Craig and Allan Dreghorn, wrights, applied to the Town Council for a piece of land below the mill of Partick, on which they proposed to erect a mill for the slitting of iron. The cost of the enterprise, they explained, would be very great, but, if successful, the business would contribute highly to the prosperity of the whole country. A supply of water was necessary for their purpose, and they asked and received permission to lead an aqueduct, or "watergang," from the town's mill dam farther upstream. The new factory was known as the "Slit Mill," sometimes as the Nail Work or Naillary.¹ Its founders were, in fact, the same individuals as had started the making of hoes, spades, and other ironmongery six years earlier under the name of the Smithfield Company, and their undertaking succeeded so well that forty years later they were able to supply any demand whatever on better terms than the English manufacturers.²

With the tobacco and sugar trades overseas growing in their hands, and the industries fostered by these trades promising additional advantages, the citizens began to turn

⁹ Gibson, *Hist. Glasg.* 237, 248.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 27th Sept. 1734.

¹ *Ibid.* 30th May, 1738; 23rd April, 1739.

² Gibson, *Hist.* 242.

their attention to the improvement of the harbour of Glasgow itself. Their original seaport at Irvine had silted up in the middle of the previous century, and though they had spent great sums and devoted much effort to the creation of Port-Glasgow, they were still hindered by many obstacles in the portage to and from that harbour by the shallow reaches of the river. It was now resolved to make some further effort to improve the waterway. The story of that effort will be found detailed in a later chapter.³

In the midst of these developments Glasgow was visited by a devastating experience from which it had hitherto been remarkably free. On 13th and 14th January, 1739, a great gale broke over Scotland. Nothing like it had been known within living memory, and it wrought grievous havoc on sea and land. Trees were uprooted, roofs were stripped, and immense damage otherwise was done. In Glasgow the top of the Tolbooth steeple was blown down, many buildings were wrecked, and parts of the spire of the Cathedral were hurled through the roof into the church below.⁴ At Port-Glasgow the quays were seriously damaged, and houses wrecked. The repairs to the Cathedral alone cost over £380 sterling, a sum only slightly offset by £19 sterling received for the trees blown down in the Cathedral churchyard and on the green. The vane of the spire received a twist in that gale from which it could be seen to suffer until the whole roof was renewed in 1908; and it is to be feared that the gardens and orchards amidst which the houses of Glasgow nestled, and which the city's earliest historian John McUre had just then commended so highly for their "odorous smell," suffered serious destruction. The town's orchard at Gorbals, at anyrate, had its trees broken and branches torn off in disastrous fashion.⁵

³ *Infra*, chap. xxv.

⁴ *Scots Magazine*, 1739, No. 1; *Burgh Records*, 23rd May, 1739.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 26th Feb., 23rd April, 28th May, 27th June, 28th Aug. 1739.

McUre, himself, if he was so minded, may have regarded the great storm as a visitation upon the magistrates for their neglect of his request for a subsidy for the publication of his history. McUre applied for this gratification twice, before the book was printed, and after its publication, but in each case the application seems to have gone no further than to be referred to a committee for consideration. His *Ancient and Modern State of Glasgow*,⁶ nevertheless, remains to-day perhaps the most frequently quoted work on its subject, and is chiefly valuable for the light it throws on the condition of the city in McUre's own time.

The Town Council of McUre's day appears to have been not too generous in countenancing literary and journalistic enterprise. In view of the opening of the coffee-house in its own new town-hall building next the Tolbooth, it withdrew the subsidy of three guineas it had previously paid towards the supply of news-letters to the old coffee-house in the Merchants House tenement at the corner of Saltmarket opposite.⁷

Three years later, however, the need for the "news-letter" was superseded by the establishment of the *Glasgow Journal*. This second Glasgow venture in journalism made its appearance on 20th July, 1741, and the city treasurer's accounts show that the civic authorities both purchased copies and inserted advertisements. The paper was printed by Robert Urie & Co., a firm which produced a number of important books, and rivalled its more famous contemporaries, the Foulises, in excellence of workmanship. When the nerve of its first editor, one Andrew Stalker, failed in the critical emergency of the Jacobite rebellion, and, declaring plaintively that, "considering the situation of affairs, I cannot with safety publish so as to please the generality of my readers," he vacated the chair, the

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 22nd June, 1732 : 4th Oct. 1736.

⁷ *Ibid.* 26th Oct. 1738.



OLD TOWN'S HOSPITAL, GREAT CLYDE STREET.

editorship was taken up by one of the Uries themselves, who carried it on till his death in 1771.⁸

But while the Town Council does not appear to have been over ready to spend money on literature and journalism, it had no shortcomings in the matters of hospitality and loyalty. The minutes contain frequent notices of the entertainment of notables like General Wade ; a festival was held to celebrate the marriage of the Prince of Wales, and a "treating" with wine on the occasion of the Queen's birthnight in 1736 ; while £34 1s. sterling was paid for a portrait "and frame thereof" of George II., to be added to the city's gallery of royal personages, from James VI. downwards.⁹

The city fathers were also willing enough to subsidise another, more utilitarian form of art. One John Watt, "mathematician and teacher of arithmetic," uncle of the famous improver of the steam engine, made a succession of surveys, plans, and maps of the town and neighbourhood and the river channel, for which a succession of payments was made. For a survey of the lands of Provan, and a map showing the extent of each mailing or farm, he received twelve guineas in 1727. For another survey of the same lands for renting and feuing, two years later, he and two others received forty guineas between them. And for later plans of Port-Glasgow, Gorbals, and "the sixteen merk land of Glasgow" itself, he received further successive sums. Some of these early examples of civic cartography remain highly interesting at the present day.¹⁰

⁸ *The Early Glasgow Press*, by Michael Graham, p. 11 ; *Burgh Records*, 28th Sept. 1750.

⁹ *Burgh Records*, 21st Sept. 1732.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 27th July, 1727 ; 26th Sept. 1729 ; 22nd June, 1732 ; 2nd Jan., 11th Dec. 1733 ; 1st Oct. 1739. Plans reproduced in Williamson's *Memorials of James Watt*.

CHAPTER XXI

THE YEAR OF THE GREAT FROST

By the year 1740 the population of Glasgow had increased to 17,043.¹ The "Common Good" revenues of the city from their older sources had reached a high level in the previous year. As realized by roup or auction they were, for the malt mills of the burgh—the old mill at Partick, the new mill on the Kelvin, the new mill at Townhead and the Sub-dean's mill—10,150 merks, with fifty bolls ground malt formerly payable to the Archbishops; for the ladles and dues of the meal market 5250 merks; for the dues of the tron, new weigh-house, and fish market, and "two little shops below the stair" 2020 merks; and for the dues of the bridge and of the Broomielaw quay and crane 3230 merks; altogether 20,650 merks, or £1175 18s. 0½d. sterling, and fifty bolls of malt. There were also, of course, revenues from other sources, such as the feu-duties of Provan and other lands, the coal heughs of Gorbals, and the town's possessions at Port-Glasgow, but the older resources quoted show that progress was being made. Eleven years previously, in 1728, the sum realized from the dues was 18,980 merks, or £1080 16s. 1d. and fifty bolls malt.

Since 1716, when the first Clyde-built vessel in the West India trade crossed the Atlantic from Glasgow,² the foreign commerce of the city had grown steadily. In 1735 the merchants of Glasgow had forty-seven vessels trading abroad, and altogether possessed no fewer than sixty-seven ships, with a tonnage of

¹ *Burgh Records*, v. p. x.

² *Brown's History of Glasgow*, p. 330.

5600. In that year the whole tonnage of Scotland is estimated to have been no more than 12,342.³ By the year 1741 the tobacco trade of the city had grown to such a size that much inconvenience was felt by the merchants who discharged their cargoes at Port-Glasgow from the want of storage "cellars" or warehouses there, and the tacksmen or lessees of the port proposed to build additional "cellars" at their own cost to contain a further eight hundred to a thousand hogsheads.⁴

It was fortunate for the poor of the city in the year 1740 that Glasgow was no longer dependent for its livelihood merely upon its internal trade. Owing to the backwardness of the seasons the price of meal rose in September to sixteen pence the peck, and the poorer citizens were threatened with serious want. To meet the emergency the Town Council approached the Merchants House, the Trades House and the General Session of the kirks with the proposal that together they should purchase up to ten thousand bolls of meal, and sell it to the poor at cost price. For this purpose £3000 sterling were borrowed from the Royal Bank. It was also agreed that each of the four bodies should contribute a sum in cash for the support of the poor, and for its own part the Town Council agreed to pay £15 sterling per month for three months.⁵

That was the winter of the great frost, when the Thames was frozen over from Christmas till the end of February, and a great fair was held on the ice. Labour was stopped throughout the country, the fruits of the earth were destroyed, and many persons died of hunger and cold.

Ten months later the distress among the poor of the city still existed, and the Town Council applied to the bank in Edinburgh for a further £500. This time, however, the request met with a

³ Knox's *British Empire*, xxxvi.; *History of Port-Glasgow*, by W. F. Macarthur, M.B.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 3rd March, 1741.

⁵ *Ibid.* 17th Sept., 15th Dec., 26th Dec., 1740.

refusal. Either Glasgow's security was not good enough or the bank's resources were limited. Perhaps both reasons lay behind the refusal. Thus rebuffed the city fathers turned to another source. Several private persons had already offered to lend money to the Town Council, and it was resolved to accept these offers. Some £900 was accordingly borrowed in this way upon bills bearing interest at five per cent, and as no difficulty was found in the operation, and the security of the city's credit was evidently considered good enough, a beginning was made of a system which has continued till the present day, when the municipal debt of Glasgow amounts to many millions sterling.⁶

The first of these private lenders, and the contributor of the largest amount, was Allan Dreghorn, wright and bailie. Evidently he was a man of substance, for the sum he tendered was £500 sterling. The largest of the other loans was £166 13s. 4d. by James Ballantine of Kelly. Dreghorn's father, Robert, had been a wright before him in the city. He was one of the tradesmen commissioned to report on the steeple of the Ramshorn Kirk when it threatened to collapse at its first building, and he engaged in various enterprises outside his regular business, becoming lessee, for instance, in 1720, of the dues for the Broomielaw quay and crane, and tacksman, five years later, of the town's coal pits in Gorbals.⁷ Allan Dreghorn himself was a man of property when he enclosed the lands of Broomhill in 1732. Two years later he applied to the magistrates for a piece of ground on the Old Green, between the town's hospital and the ropework, on which to build the house which still stands, one of the last examples of the better-class Glasgow mansions of its time.⁸ He was city treasurer in 1739, and

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 29th Oct., 26th Nov., 1741, 9th Feb., 1742.

⁷ *Ibid.* 25th Sept. 1725; 27th Aug. 1730.

⁸ A fine picture of the Dreghorn mansion forms the frontispiece of *Glasgow Burgh Records*, vol. vii.

after the disastrous hurricane of that year he was deputed to inspect the damage done to the cathedral, and estimate the cost of repairing the fane. He was indeed constantly employed by the city in his business capacity, and it was under the civic auspices that he performed a highly notable achievement in 1740. The Town Council was about to build its new church on the gardens so painfully acquired on the bank of the Molendinar, between Gallowgate and Saltmarket. Plans for the building were submitted by Dreghorn and by another wright named Nisbitt. Dreghorn's plans, based, it would appear, on the model of St. Martin's in the Fields, in Trafalgar Square, London, were preferred, and accordingly the most beautiful of all the city churches remains a monument to his fine taste and architectural genius.

The subsequent career of the worthy wright and architect is outstanding in the city annals. He was a partner in the great Smithfield iron company, and one of the six original partners in the Ship Bank. In 1741 he was chosen a bailie. Ten years later he proposed to undertake a tenement building scheme on the Old Green, and the Town Council agreed to further his plans by removing a public thoroughfare nearer to the wall of the Town's Hospital.⁹ In 1757 he acquired the estate of Hogganfield, part of the old lands of Provan, to the north-east of the city, and he appears again and again as one of the chief actors in the city's most important business affairs. The carriage, which was built for him in his own woodyard behind his house on the Old Green, was the first in Glasgow. By his enterprise and ability Allan Dreghorn established the fortunes of a family which was to have a tragic ending half a century later. The handsome dwelling-house on the Old Green, with Ruchill mansion and estate to the north of the city, acquired later, remained Dreghorn possessions till

⁹ *Burgh Records*, under dates named; *Cleland's Annals*, i. 33; *The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry*, p. 224.

1806. In that year Allan Dreghorn's nephew and heir, Robert Dreghorn of Ruchill, better known as "Bob Dragon," and celebrated for his peculiarities of feature, person, and habits, took his life with his own hand within the walls of his town house. For that reason the mansion, which forms the back part of a furniture warehouse at No. 20 Great Clyde Street, was for many years reputed to be haunted—a sad sequel to the story of the brilliant craftsman and architect to whose genius the city owes the beauty of St. Andrew's Church.¹⁰

But the state of distress in Glasgow, which compelled such unprecedented borrowing of money and provision of meal for the poor, was not attributable entirely to the backwardness of the seasons, or the severity of the winter. In October 1739 the British Government had declared war upon Spain. The Spanish demand that Britain should withdraw her fleet from the Mediterranean, and that British ships should submit to be searched, was felt to be intolerable, and the declaration of war roused immense popular enthusiasm in London. Sir Robert Walpole, George II.'s minister, had been forced into the war against his own judgment, and when he heard the huzzahs of the populace and the pealing of the bells he is said to have exclaimed "They may ring the bells now : very soon they will be ringing their hands !" Rather unjustly he was himself the most outstanding sufferer. Many hardships inevitably were entailed by the war, and for these Walpole's Government was blamed. Demands were made that the Government should prosecute the campaign with more energy, and place more ships of war upon the seas ; and when the ministry sought to man these ships by commandeering the crews of merchant vessels, the merchants sent a protest to the House of Commons.

¹⁰ Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, pp. 283, 284, note. "Bob Dragon" was a very wealthy man. He inherited Broomhill, Ruchill, and Hogganfield from his uncle, Allan Dreghorn, and Blochairn from his father, Robert Dreghorn.—*Burgh Records*, 27th Sept. 1765. For the riot which at a later date sacked the Dreghorn mansion, see Mackenzie, *Reminiscences*, ii. p. 299.

The quarrel was brought home to Scotland when the Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, the rival of Marlborough, and the victor of Sheriffmuir, for attacking the Government in the House of Lords, was deprived of all his employments, civil and military. Walpole was already unpopular in Scotland because of his enforcement of the malt-tax in 1725, and by his repressive measures after the Porteous riot in 1736. Notwithstanding his long reign in the House of Commons, and all the forces which that long reign might be expected to have accumulated against him, he was still able to defeat the motions for his removal urged in both Houses of Parliament in 1741; but, in the General Election which followed, the Opposition roused all its forces against him.

In that election the Town Council of Glasgow played a new and rather astonishing rôle. It was the turn of Rutherglen, among the four burghs, to be the scene of the election, and Glasgow apparently thought it desirable to secure the suffrage of a large number of the people of that burgh. The Town Council began by conferring burgess rights upon a number of the inhabitants of Rutherglen. No fewer than twenty-three were thus favoured, without payment, and as several of these were recorded as "land labourers," it is clear that there was an ulterior purpose to be served. As many were admitted from other districts, such as Possil, Polmadie, and Cumbernauld, and the whole transaction appears something akin to a creation of faggot votes.¹

The magistrates next, on the eve of the election, proceeded to spend money freely in the "houses"—probably the inns and taverns—of Rutherglen. Thus the city treasurer was ordered to pay to David Scot, "late provost of Rugland," £10 19s. 3½d. sterling expended in his house by the magistrates and others, "upon the town's account, at and before electing the member of parliament." No fewer than ten such payments are openly

¹ *Burgh Records*, 28th April, 27th July, 1741.

recorded, most of them being to late provosts and bailies, the sums ranging from £55 7s. 5d. down to £8 8s. 4d. sterling.² The transaction was obviously a case of open bribery on a somewhat extensive scale. It was Walpole's own method of achieving his ends, and quite in the manner of the time. Perhaps it was just that the minister should be hoist with his own petard, yet one cannot but regret to find the fair fame of St. Mungo's city besmirched by recourse to such base means.

The magistrates had the satisfaction of securing the return of their candidate, Neil Buchanan of Hillington, and the further satisfaction, in the following February, 1742, of learning that Walpole had been defeated in the House of Commons, and had resigned all his offices. In March they wrote a letter to their member thanking him for what he had done, and expressing the desire that he should use his endeavours towards "limiting the number of place-men and pensioners in the House of Commons, and repealing the law for septennial parliaments, and procuring a law for triennials." ³

Such was the part played by Glasgow in bringing about the fall of Sir Robert Walpole. Whatever may have been its merits from a political point of view, it set a precedent which might have led to very undesirable practices. A beginning of these was made almost immediately, when the Town Council proceeded to send their member of parliament a letter containing something very like definite instructions regarding the measures he should support and those he should oppose in the House of Commons. This precious epistle ran as follows :

"Sir.—The securing and restoring our liberty and constitution, and preserving the independence of parliament, having been our chief care in promoting your election as member of the house of commons for this city and district, it is with the utmost pleasure we observe that in your parliamentary conduct you

² *Burgh Records*, 18th May, 30th June, 28th July, 5th Oct., 1741.

³ *Ibid.* 5th March, 1742.

have answered these our intentions, for which we make you our most grateful acknowledgment.

“But as the present conjuncture is extremely critical, you will permit us to give our sentiments at the opening of this new session, which we have no doubt are perfectly agreeable to your own.

“We earnestly request of you, in name of the corporation, to promote every maxim for preventing and restraining all manner of pecuniary influence over the members of your house—the unhappy source of all our calamities; for restoring frequency of new parliaments, and for giving such vigour to our once happy, but now exhausted constitution; that you be as sparing of the national treasure as the present exigencies will admit, and join in all the parliamentary enquiries into the past conduct and management of public affairs; whereby his Majesty’s government will be founded on its proper basis, the affections of his people, former managements and grievances may be corrected and redressed, and all further abuse of power we hope be prevented.

“Your attention to these points, and any others that may come before your house for the good of your country will endear you to all lovers of liberty and be particularly acceptable to all the members of this community.”⁴

The Town Council was evidently in danger of becoming a political caucus, instructing its member strictly as to how he should vote, and fortifying itself in control by a system of wholesale bribery at the public expense.

At the same time the Town Council was engaged in a proceeding of less doubtful character. The action appears to have been suggested by a movement of the University authorities. It would appear that a reference in the works of Jean Mabillon, the Benedictine scholar at St. Germain, had drawn the attention of these authorities to the importance of the records

⁴ *Ibid.* 9th Nov., 1742.

carried from Glasgow at the Reformation by Archbishop Beaton, and preserved in the Scots College at Paris. In 1738, accordingly, they had written that college asking for a notarial copy of the Chartulary of the Archbishopric. The request, though treated with the utmost courtesy, was not fully complied with till thirty years later, when the copy was received which is preserved in the archives of Glasgow University.⁵ The original chartulary was brought to this country at the French Revolution, and from it the "Register of the Bishopric of Glasgow" was edited by Professor Cosmo Innes, and printed by the Maitland Club in 1843. Among other important historical matter it contains the proof of existence of a papal dispensation for the first marriage of King Robert II. to Elizabeth Mure, in other words, proof of the legitimacy of the whole subsequent line of Stewart kings. It was the question of this legitimacy which in the fifteenth century led to such tragic happenings as the assassination of James I. in the Blackfriars Monastery at Perth, and the slaying of the Earl of Douglas by James II. in the supper closet at Stirling. Even as late as the reign of Charles I. it cost a too talkative senator of the College of Justice his earldoms of Strathearn and Men-teith. It was only by production of a copy of the Register in Scotland that historians were provided with documentary evidence on the subject. Following this, in the year 1789, the Pope's dispensation for the marriage was itself found in the Vatican by a noted antiquary, Andrew Stewart of Torrance and Castlemilk, and the long-debated question finally and absolutely set at rest.

Meanwhile, following the action, and perhaps the advice, of the College authorities, the Town Council in 1739 applied to the College at Douai for authentic copies of the town's writs carried away by Archbishop Beaton at the Reformation.⁶ In

⁵ Cosmo Innes, *Sketches of Scotch History*, p. 493.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 20th Feb., 1739.

the upshot the magistrates were presented, by the Scots College at Paris, with a carefully transcribed and certified copy of such contents of the Glasgow chartulary as were judged to concern the city. This transcript, a small volume of 136 pages of paper, in the hand of a French scribe, collated by Father Thomas Innes, and bound in red morocco, is now in possession of the city. It was used, along with the copy of the chartulary at the University, and the complete Register of the Bishopric published by the Maitland Club, in the preparation of "Charters and Other Documents relating to the City of Glasgow," edited by Sir James D. Marwick and published in 1897 and following years.⁷

While the Town Council was engaged upon matters of such political and historical importance, it is curious to realize how primitive the city was in some respects now regarded as of prime importance. The lighting of the streets, for instance, was still confined to a few dim lamps. The whole lighting of the city for the winter of 1738 cost no more than £47 4s. 4½d. sterling, and took little more than a hundred gallons of rapeseed oil, which seems to have been dear enough at 1s. 2d. the pint. Two years later hempseed oil was used, which cost 2s. 2d. the pint.⁸ So far, also, the city appears to have been without any but surface drainage. The first underground conduit for the purpose appears to have been devised to carry away the water from James Spreull's land near the west port.⁹ As there was not sufficient slope to carry away that water by the usual "syver" or gutter on the surface of the street, the Council ordered a covered "canaul" to be made to carry the water across the thoroughfare, to enable it "to fall down and run by the east of the Stockwellgate Street, where there is a sufficient

⁷ *Charters and Documents*, vol. i., part i., page iii.

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 23rd April, 1739, 30th June, 1741.

⁹ Spreull's Court is still a feature of the north side of Trongate, a few doors east of Glassford Street.

descent upon lowering the strand and covering parts thereof where it is hollow." Before proceeding with the work the magistrates were "to take tradesmen's advice skilled therein." Whoever these tradesmen might be, they were the engineers of the beginnings of the vast underground system of conduits which makes Glasgow a clean and healthy city at the present day.¹⁰ Within a year afterwards another modern amenity was introduced when the Council ordered "that lead pipes in place of timber be made for the well in the New Green."¹

Still another interesting fact may be noted, in which Glasgow was late in departing from the manners of bygone times. Beltane, or Baalfire Day, the 2nd of May, was one of the chief religious festivals of pagan times in Britain. The word is commemorated in many place-names, such as Tarbolton and Tilliebeltane, and immortalized in one of the poems of King James V.

At Beltane, when ilk body bouns
To Peblis to the play.

St. Luke's Fair in November and Beltane Fair in May were the two principal of the seven fairs held in Rutherglen till as late as the nineteenth century.² As late as the middle of the eighteenth century, in Glasgow, Beltane still remained one of the term days at which entry was given to tenants of various properties.³

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 8th May, 1740.

¹ *Ibid.* 28th April, 1741.

² Alison's *Anecdote of Glasgow*, p. 164.

³ *Burgh Records*, 26th Aug., 1743.

CHAPTER XXII

THE ELZEVIRS OF SCOTLAND AND THE FOULIS ACADEMY

JOHN GIBSON, in his *History of Glasgow*, after recounting how the printing of books was first begun in the city in 1638 by George Anderson, and how Robert Sanders settled here about 1661, and, followed by his son, carried on a printing business till after 1730, says there was no good printing in Glasgow till 1735, when Robert Urie began the production of books "in a very good taste and manner." He adds, "How far it has been improved since that time the many elegant and splendid editions of books in different languages, printed by Robert and Andrew Foulis, who began in 1740, are a sufficient testimony." ¹

The progress of printing was of course dependent to a considerable extent upon progress in the art of typefounding. This art also was late in coming to Glasgow. The pioneer of typefounding in Scotland was Peter Rae, minister of Kirkbride. At his press in that quiet parish, and afterwards in Dumfries, Rae printed some sixteen works, including a "History of the Rebellion of 1715." He was followed by James Duncan, letter-founder in Glasgow, who has already been mentioned in these pages, and who, with his family, continued to print and sell books in the city for something like a century. According to the *Burgh Records*, "James Duncan, printer and type-maker," was appointed "the town's printer" in October 1719. Duncan printed many chapbooks, as well as Dougal Graham's rhyming

¹ *History*, p. 245.

chronicle of "the '45," the first and second editions of which are much sought after.² A departure on a higher and more artistic level was made, however, by Alexander Wilson, Professor of Astronomy in Glasgow University. Beginning to practise the craft of type-founding in his native city of St. Andrews about 1740, Wilson removed shortly afterwards to Camlachie, then a village near Glasgow, and the types produced there by him and his sons attained before long a European reputation. His "Scotch type" was spoken of throughout the kingdom as a *sine qua non* for excellence of printing, and in France was known as the "style Ecossais." In Glasgow itself his services to printing were recognized by the Town Council, which made him a burghess "upon account of his great ingenuity in typefounding, by which printing has been advanced in this city within these few years to a great degree of perfection."³ He was also appointed "Type-founder to the University."

The fame of Wilson's types was due chiefly to the publications of the Glasgow printers, Robert and Andrew Foulis. As frequently happens in successful enterprise, the brothers began business at a psychological moment—when Wilson's new and beautiful style of type was becoming available. Their beginnings were characteristic enough. They were the sons of a Glasgow maltman, Andrew Faulls, and their mother, Marion Patterson, was evidently a woman of parts, for she herself attended to the education of all her four boys. Robert, the eldest son, was born in 1707, and, like his Edinburgh contemporary, Allan Ramsay, practised for some years as a barber. Andrew, born in 1712, was bred for the ministry, and for a time

² Dougal Graham was of course himself a printer, issuing from his press a series of chapbooks, mostly of his own writing, which, coarse but vivid, reflected the rustic life of his time, and enjoyed an enormous popularity. For the authorship of these he has been called the Scottish Rabelais.

³ *Burgh Records*, 3rd Oct. 1757; Cleland's *Annals*, ii. 467; Coutts' *Hist. University of Glasgow*, p. 230.

taught Greek, Latin, French, and philosophy. But Robert, with an ambition common to many Scotsmen, attended Professor Francis Hutcheson's lectures on moral philosophy at the University. By Hutcheson he was advised to start business as a printer and bookseller, and by way of preparation he worked for a time in a Glasgow printing house. Then with his brother he paid a visit to Oxford, and spent some time in the Bodleian library, studying examples of the printer's art. The two also went to the Continent for a further study of books, printing, and editions. They made two journeys of this sort, paying their expenses by collecting specimen editions abroad, and selling them in London at a profit. Thus fortified, they began business in Shuttle Street, near the University, in 1741.

Until that time most of the Greek and Latin classics used in this country were imported from the Continent, and were both costly and scarce. In this direction the Foulis brothers saw their opportunity. During their first year, besides three other works, they produced a Cicero and a Phaedrus. One of their other books was a work by Principal Leechman, and they were rewarded two years later by being appointed printers to the University. Perhaps to mark the event they forthwith produced the first book printed in Greek in Glasgow, *Demetrius Phalerus de Elocutione*, and in the following year they proceeded with their famous “immaculate” Horace. This was intended to be an absolutely perfect edition. The proofs were read by George Ross, the Professor of Humanity, and James Moor, Professor of Greek, whose sister Robert Foulis married; and after hours had been spent by them and other experts over each page, each sheet was hung up in the college for a fortnight, and a reward of fifty pounds offered for the detection of any error. Notwithstanding all the care taken; however, when the edition was published it was found by Dr. Dibdin to contain no fewer than six typographical errors, one of them in the first line of the first page.⁴

⁴ Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 31.

Next to the Horace the most famous publication of the Foulis press was the splendid Homer, in four folio volumes, issued between 1756 and 1758. An edition of Cicero in twenty volumes was also produced, which for its type is preferred to the Elzevir edition. Altogether 554 works—poetry, plays, classics, translations, and others—were issued from the bookshop in Shuttle Street. All the productions of the press were notable for the beauty, fine taste, and perfection of their printing, and the Foulis brothers have on that account been justly named the Elzevirs of Scotland.

The Foulis bookshop became a favourite resort of professors and students, and the sales of books by auction carried on there by Andrew Foulis in the winter evenings were the scene of some amusing episodes. In 1753, on his return from a two-year sojourn on the Continent, Robert was admitted a member of the Literary Society newly formed at the college. This was the first literary society in Glasgow, and among its members were Dr. Francis Hutcheson and Professor Adam Smith. Robert Foulis read fifteen papers to its meetings.

But already he had another project in his mind. He had been impressed by the effects of the teaching of art on the Continent, and his idea was to establish a great academy of painting, sculpture, engraving, and other fine arts in his native city. He brought competent masters from abroad, and with the financial help of three notable Glasgow citizens, proceeded to set up his academy. The University let him have the use of several rooms for studios and a hall for exhibitions, and the Duke of Hamilton allowed the students to copy the old masters in his galleries. Financially he was supported by Campbell of Clathic, Glassford of Dougalston, and Provost Archibald Ingram. For twenty years he put up a brave fight to make Glasgow a home of the fine arts. Nor was his effort without results. Among the pupils of the Academy who achieved fame were William Cochrane, the portrait painter, David Allan, "the



ROBERT FOULIS, 1707-1776.
From medallion by James Tassie
in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

Scottish Hogarth," remembered best by his illustrations to Ramsay's "Gentle Shepherd," and James Tassie, a Pollokshaws stone mason whose medallions of the well-known men of his time in a glass paste which he himself invented, are much sought after to-day.⁵ The display of works, also, which was made on the King's birthday each year with a view to make known the achievements of the Academy, and to secure patronage, set the example for our modern picture exhibitions. Further, there can be little doubt that the Academy itself afforded a model for the Royal Academy established in London in 1768. Perhaps the occasion on which Robert Foulis saw his hopes most nearly realized was on the Coronation Day of King George III., when the Academy held a great exhibition in the open air, in the inner quadrangle of the College.⁶

But, so far as Glasgow was concerned, Foulis's idea was too far in advance of its time. Even a hundred years later, when the Glasgow coachbuilder, Archibald MacLellan, built his galleries in Sauchiehall Street, and filled them with the Old Masters which formed the nucleus for the superb collection in the Fine Art Galleries at Kelvingrove to-day, the effort only achieved a doubtful approval, and brought ruin upon his own affairs. It was not till late in the nineteenth century that the "Glasgow School" of painters brought artistic fame to the city. The first blow fell upon Robert Foulis when Provost Ingram, one of his chief supporters, died in 1770. But the worst stroke came when one day Robert's brother Andrew, while showing a visitor the view of the city from the high ground in Drygate, was seized with an apoplexy, and died on the spot. Andrew had been the practical partner, who kept

⁵ Foulis's Academy had an example in the short-lived School of St. Luke, set up in Edinburgh in 1729, of which Allan Ramsay, son of the poet, was almost the sole product of note.

⁶ A rare print, after a drawing by David Allan, reproduced in Macgeorge's *Old Glasgow*, p. 126, depicts this display. The print affords, by the way, a good idea of the costumes fashionable in Glasgow in 1761.

the business going with his auction sales of books, and his death meant the end of the great enterprise. With a sinking heart, Robert carried the pictures and models of his Academy to London, where he opened an exhibition. But everybody of note had left town at the time, and a very great personage whose patronage was hoped for did not attend. Against the advice of Christie, the auctioneer, the works of art were put up for sale, and realized only trifling sums, though two pictures bought by Glasgow University were considered by Raeburn to be either by Raphael or one of his pupils. When all costs were defrayed the balance in Foulis's hands was just fifteen shillings! Sadly he set out for home, but on the way, at Edinburgh, he fell ill, and died on 2nd June, 1776. He was 69 years of age, his debts amounted to £6500, and his family were left destitute. The printing house in Shuttle Street was advertised for sale on 31st October, 1782.⁷ Andrew Foulis, younger, remained official printer to the University, with rooms in the College, till 1795, but he never emerged from financial difficulties. When he died in 1829 the Faculty made a gift of £5 to pay for his funeral, and for twenty-five years it made an annual allowance to support his sister Elizabeth, who had married her father's foreman printer, Robert Dewar.⁸

⁷ Duncan's *Literary History of Glasgow* (Maitland Club).

⁸ Coutts, *Hist. Univ. Glasgow*, p. 331.

CHAPTER XXIII

CERTAIN BENEFACCTIONS

MEANWHILE the city pursued its affairs with increasing efficiency. It went on with the building of St. Andrew's Church, paying Allan Dreghorn for his scaffoldings and woodwork and David Cation for his sculpturing of capitals and stone mouldings. It took steps towards the building of a lighthouse on the Little Cumbrae to guide ships into the channel between that island and the coast of Bute.¹ It sent a loyal address to George II. on his return to this country after his wonderful victory at Dettingen in 1743, the last occasion on which a British monarch was to take the field in person.² It altered the dates of the fairs of Glasgow held in January and July, so that in neither case should a Sunday intervene and interrupt the proceedings.³ It built a slaughterhouse on the Skinner's Green near the mouth of the Molendinar, and removed the meat and mutton markets to the same quarter.⁴ It reprinted a pamphlet against smuggling, a practice which threatened to diminish seriously the revenues derived by the city and the country from the duties levied upon spirits and

¹ *Burgh Records*, 17th Feb., 1743, 6th Jan., 1755, 20th Jan., 1756. An Act of Parliament for the building of the lighthouse was passed in 1756. For his help in securing this the Town Council presented Richard Oswald, merchant in London, with a piece of plate costing £78 12s. 9d. The lighthouse was an open beacon in which coal was burned.—*Ibid.* 17th Jan., 1758, *Act Parl.* 29, George II. c. 20.

² *Burgh Records*, 1st Dec., 1743.

³ *Ibid.* 3rd Jan., 1744.

⁴ *Ibid.* 3rd Jan., 1744.

malt.⁵ And it agreed to support with its powers of criminal punishment a set of rules drawn up by the General Session of the city churches for suppressing the vices of "cursing, swearing, profanation of the Sabbath, lewdness, drunkenness, and other enormities," which, following the conspicuous depravity of the time, had become seriously prevalent in the city.⁶

Notwithstanding the efforts of General Wade, following the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715, the roads of Scotland were still primitive enough. John Loudon Macadam, whose method of metal-laying was to revolutionize the roads of the kingdom and the world, was not born till 1756. In 1740 Lord Lovat in his chariot with numerous horses and a mob of running footmen took eleven days to reach Edinburgh from Inverness; and when the provosts and bailies of Glasgow made their frequent journeys to Edinburgh on the city's business they covered the distance on horseback. In Glasgow itself, no doubt largely by reason of the conditions of the roads, there were, in 1744, neither post-chaises nor hackney-carriages. Only a few sedan chairs were available for carrying ladies to the assemblies.⁷ It was still therefore a somewhat hazardous enterprise when in 1743 John Walker, an Edinburgh merchant, proposed to run a stage coach between Edinburgh and Glasgow, twice a week either way for twenty weeks in summer, and once a week for the rest of the year. The fare was to be ten shillings sterling, and each passenger might carry fourteen pounds weight of baggage. The coach or "lando" was to carry six passengers and to be drawn by six horses, and Walker asked that the Town Council should guarantee the sale of two hundred tickets from the Glasgow end of the journey each year. The Town Council remitted the proposal to its "annual committee"

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 15th June, 1744.

⁶ *Ibid.* 11th Aug., 1744. Green's *Short History of the English People*, chap. x.

⁷ Alexander Carlyle's *Autobiography*, p. 75; Cleland, *Annals*, p. 430.

for consideration,⁸ but nothing further seems to have been done.⁹

The same fate seems to have befallen a request of the Merchants House that the Town Council should interfere to control the action of the carters who conveyed goods from the Broomielaw to the east country and elsewhere. These carters refused to do the work unless they got what the merchants regarded as "extravagant hires." Here again the matter ended in a reference to the magistrates for consideration. The ideas of that time do not seem to have included an apprehension of the working of the natural law of supply and demand—Adam Smith, Glasgow's future professor of moral philosophy, and author of *The Wealth of Nations*, had then only just taken his degree at Oxford; but no doubt that law itself effectively and before long solved the question of the carters' hires.¹⁰

Fortunately two other proposals at that time made to the Town Council were not carried out. One was to use the vaults below the cathedral as a magazine in which to keep the city's stock of gunpowder. The other was to encroach upon the area of the New Green by feuing ground on the east side of the mouth of the Molendinar to a company which was to set up a woollen factory and workmen's houses on the spot. The former dangerous suggestion was avoided by assigning as a powder magazine the old horse guard-house built by the town at the head of the Limmerfield, opposite the tower of the Bishop's Castle. The proposal to feu part of the Laigh Green was actually agreed to by the Town Council, but dropped

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 15th Oct., 1743.

⁹ The first regular stage-coach between Edinburgh and Glasgow began to run in 1749. It ran twice a week each way, and took some twelve hours to the journey.—*Scots Magazine*, 1749. p. 253. An interesting account of the development of transport out of Glasgow in the latter half of the eighteenth century is given by Senex in *Old Glasgow and its Environs*, p. 343.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 30th April, 1745.

through "the general voice of the public being raised against it." ¹

The city fathers were also prevented from doing wrong in a matter of larger interest. Neil Buchanan, the Member of Parliament elected with so much questionable effort to secure the overthrow of Walpole's Government, died early in 1744, and the four burghs were called upon to choose a successor. At the moment there did not seem to be the same call for strenuous effort as in the previous election. But even if that call had existed the Town Council would have been precluded from indulging in the orgy of bribery and corruption which had disgraced the election of 1741. To restrain such abuses—abuses for which Walpole's Government itself had been chiefly notorious—an Act of Parliament had been passed in 1743. Under that Act the town clerks and the magistrates and councillors of burghs, if required by any of their number, were called upon to take an oath declaring that they had received no consideration of any kind to influence their vote or action in the election. As the magistrates and councillors of the burghs were the only electors the oath effectually stopped corrupt practices. The wild orgy of burgess making and free spending which had marked the election of Neil Buchanan was therefore Glasgow's first and last plunge into the mire of electoral corruption. ²

The town had greater difficulties at that time in its dealings with the funds of public charities. Chief of these charities was the town's hospital or poorhouse. To supplement the private subscriptions by which that institution was erected and maintained the Town Council had promised to contribute £140 yearly. The payments, however, had fallen into arrears till in 1743 these amounted to £590 sterling. Further, among sub-

¹ Cleland's *Annals*, 1829 ed., p. 467; *Burgh Records*, 13th Nov., 1744; 22nd Jan., 1745; 26th March, 1745.

² *Burgh Records*, 16th Mar., 1744.

scriptions entrusted to the Council in 1734 was £5 from a person who desired to have his name concealed, but, after his death, was found to be Robert Wodrow, minister of Eastwood, the historian of the Covenanters. Wodrow's subscription was for the buying of medicaments for the poor, and had been accepted by the Council, but remained in their hands. The town's debt to the directors of the poorhouse therefore amounted to £595, and on the directors pressing for payment the Council found difficulty in raising the money, and compromised by granting a bond payable at the following Whitsunday, with interest at the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.³ This sum was only repaid nine years later, out of the £10,000 received from the Government as compensation for the losses suffered by the city during the Jacobite rising of 1745.⁴

In another matter of the management of charitable funds the Town Council was merely asked to intervene, and did so with much wisdom. Robert Sanders of Auldhouse, near Pollokshaws, had entrusted the Merchants House with a legacy of 12,000 merks and the lands of Auldhouse, burdened with the payment of 1100 merks yearly for the apprenticing of eleven poor boys to trades or callings and £100 Scots yearly to support a bursar in divinity at the College. Five of the boys were to be sons of merchants and five sons of craftsmen, with one from each rank in alternate years, and the right of presentation was vested in the testator's nephew, Robert Colquhoun. In 1743, however, the Deacon-Convener of the Trades House complained to the Town Council that for several years no boys had been apprenticed under the legacy. On enquiry it was found that most of the 12,000 merks had been lent out and lost, while the interest on the remainder, and possession of the lands rent free, had been granted to Colquhoun on consideration of his refraining from the presentation of apprentices. The arrangement, in fact, appears as a very compromising piece of jobbery between the

³ *Ibid.* 8th Feb., 1743.

⁴ *Ibid.* 23rd March, 1752.

Merchants House and the testator's nephew, by which the latter may have hoped in time to secure permanent possession of his uncle's estate. Fortunately Sanders in his testament had named the Town Council as overseers of the trust, and the city fathers promptly straightened out the tangle. They ordered that no apprentices should be made from the merchants rank till the capital sum and accumulated interest should again amount to 12,000 merks ; they induced Colquhoun to give up his right of presentation for an annuity of £12 sterling, and they vested in the Trades House the right to present five boys for apprenticing. Two years later the arrangement was reviewed, when the Merchants House was directed to proceed with the apprenticing of the full number of eleven boys yearly, and, to prevent a serious abuse which had been practised, it was ordered that, if any boy or his friends should offer the patrons a premium or gratification for his presentation, the presentation should be annulled and another boy apprenticed instead.⁵

Another " mortification," or legacy, of the same period, with curious implications, was that of Robert Tennent, a Glasgow merchant, who died in 1741. This philanthropist directed his trustees to pay to the Town Council three sums of money—5000 merks, £4000 Scots, and 10,000 merks respectively. The interest, at four per cent, on the first sum was to be devoted to the maintenance of the children in two charity schools erected by the testator's brother, Simon Tennent ; that of the second sum was to go to the support of " three widows of good deportment and conversation " ; while the third sum itself was to be lent out, in amounts of 500 merks each, free of interest, for periods of five years, to fifteen merchants and five tradesmen of the city, who could give sufficient security for repayment. The interest on any portions of the amount which might be unused for a time in the hands

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 3rd Oct., 1743 ; 7th March, 5th Jan., 1745.

of the Town Council was to be used for the expenses of management.⁶

Still another bequest of the same period affords an example of the many charitable legacies which, in the course of time, have been entrusted to the Town Council and the Merchants and Trades Houses for administration. The case is an instance, at the same time, of wifely faithfulness and devotion which is worthy of permanent remembrance. The lady was Martha Millar, widow of John Luke, merchant. Stating that her husband had "verbally mortified" the sum, she paid to the Merchants House 4000 merks, with the arrangement that that House should pay the interest to "a poor, decayed, indigent, honest man of the merchant rank," to be named by herself and her daughters after her. As the first recipient of the pension she named George Luke, a near relation of her husband, who had fallen on evil days; and after his death, as his children had not sufficient means for their maintenance and upbringing, she by special request had the annuity continued to them. It was a womanly variation of the strict legal terms of the bequest, which, one is glad to know, both the Merchants House and the Town Council found it possible to homologate.⁷

From first to last, however, the philanthropic spirit which has characterized the citizens of Glasgow has been fostered and furthered by the city fathers. A notable enterprise thus helped was the Buchanan Society, first of the many benevolent societies, associated with Highland clans and districts which have since formed a conspicuous feature of Glasgow life. The society was founded in 1725 by four brothers who were among the most notable citizens of Glasgow, George Buchanan of Moss and Auchentoshan, Andrew Buchanan of Drumpellier, Archibald

⁶ *Ibid.* 27th Jan., 1744. This money is still held by the Corporation, which pays four per cent to the trustees who administer the revenue.—See Strang's *Bursaries, Schools, Mortifications and Bequests*, p. 120.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1st Oct., 1744.

Buchanan of Auchentorlie, and Neil Buchanan of Hillington.⁸ In 1725 this society established a fund for putting poor boys of the clan to trades in the city. To secure its capital and increase its income it purchased an old thatched tenement at the corner of Trongate and King Street, pulled it down, and on the site, and an adjoining piece of ground given to it by the Town Council, erected a handsome stone building. The new tenement ran the society into debt to the amount of £300 sterling. Towards the repayment of that debt the society asked the Council for a further favour. This was promptly granted, and the Buchanan Society was allowed for five years to draw the increased rents from its new stone property while paying "stent" or rates only upon the small rental of the older building.⁹ The society was, fourteen years later, granted the status of a legal incorporation by the city fathers.

Two years later in origin was the Glasgow Highland Society. In the year 1751 this society was granted a seal of cause by the magistrates, which enabled it to sue or be sued in any court of law in the same manner as any other corporate body. Its membership was limited to persons of Highland birth, or their children, and the entrance fee was a guinea and a half. The chief purpose of the society was to apprentice poor boys of Highland birth to respectable trades, and so enable them to become useful citizens. At the time of its incorporation it had apprenticed forty-seven boys, and its funds amounted to £416 16s. 6½d. In its behalf in 1758 George Whitefield preached a sermon in the Cathedral churchyard, when the collection, nearly £60, taken after the discourse, was the largest subscribed till then in Glasgow. With this and its other funds the society built the Black Bull inn on the west side of the Shawfield Mansion, and the rent, which at first was no more than

⁸ *Curiosities of Citizenship*, p. 4.

⁹ *Burgh Records*, 14th Jan, 1733; 2nd July, 1736; 4th Feb., 1737; 20th Feb., 1739; 5th Dec., 1753.

£100 per annum, increased till in 1825 it amounted, with its attached shops, to £1168.¹⁰

Two years later still was the "mortification" of £2000 sterling by William Mitchell, a London merchant, and native of Glasgow, who died on Christmas Day, 1729. The money was entrusted to the magistrates of Glasgow, who were to devote its interest to the maintenance of poor burgesses, or children of burgesses, to be presented by the testator's executors and their heirs for ever, whom failing the Lord Provost and Magistrates.¹

¹⁰ Gibson's *History*, p. 175; Gordon's *Glasghu Facies*, ii. 1023, 1029; *Burgh Records*, 22nd Jan. 1751; *Glasgow Past and Present*, i. p. 82; *Anecdote of Glasgow*, p. 115.

¹ Gibson, p. 180. When Mitchell's mortification was remodelled in 1794 its income was £113 17s. 9½d., which was apportioned among fifteen beneficiaries.—*Burgh Records*, 17th Sept. 1794. See *supra*, p. 147.

CHAPTER XXIV

PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD AND GLASGOW

INTO the midst of the peaceful community of traders and craftsmen going about their business in the Saltmarket, Tron-gate, and Briggate of Glasgow on 14th September, 1745, a thunderbolt dropped suddenly out of the blue. It was a letter signed "Charles P R," and dated on the previous day at Leckie, near Gargunnoch, within twenty miles of the city. The letter ran as follows: "To the Provost, Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow. I need not inform you of my being come hither, nor of my view in coming ; that is already sufficiently known ; all those who love their country, and the true interest of Britain ought to wish for my success, and do what they can to promote it. It would be a needless repetition to tell you that all the privileges of your town are included in my Declaration, and what I have promised I will never depart from. I hope this is your way of thinking, and therefore expect your compliance with my demands. A sum of money besides what is due to the government, not exceeding fifteen thousand pounds sterling, and whatever arms can be found in your city, is at present what I require. The terms offered you are very reasonable, and what I promise to make good. I choose to make these demands, but if not complied with I shall take other measures, and you must be answerable for the consequences." ¹

Prince Charles Edward Stewart, in his romantic attempt to regain the throne of his ancestors, had landed with seven com-

¹ *Cochrane Correspondence*, Maitland Club, p. 105.

panions at Arisaig on 22nd July, had raised his standard in Glenfinnan on 19th August, and, evaded by General Cope at Dalwhinnie, had marched hotfoot upon the lowlands. Avoiding Stirling, where an arch of the ancient bridge had been broken to stop his passage, he had crossed the Forth at the Fords of Frew, below Kippen, and proceeded at once to requisition the prospering little city on the Clyde. Glasgow had everything to fear from the invading host. It had consistently supported the Revolution settlement and the House of Hanover, and at the Earl of Mar's rising in 1715 had raised ten companies to oppose the Jacobite campaign. In view of these facts something like panic seized the common townsfolk. On 14th and 15th September there was nothing but hiding of clothes and other goods. On Sunday, 16th September, the rebels were expected, and at a false alarm that they were entering the place, "almost all the inhabitants that were able to run fled out of the town in great fear, hurry, and confusion. Those at the foot of the town thought they saw the smoke at the head of it, and that the rebels were setting it on fire; and some in the country that were in sight of Glasgow imagined that the city was all on fire, and they saw the smoke of it."² The city in fact was totally without defence. A small force of some thirty Royal Scots Fusiliers with one officer had been quartered in the town, but had been ordered to Dunbarton Castle.

Nevertheless, the payment of £15,000 meant ruin to the finances of the city, whose entire annual revenue at that time was not more than some £3000. Fortunately the affairs of Glasgow were at the moment in charge of a particularly able provost, Andrew Cochrane. On receipt of the demand he convened a meeting of all the principal inhabitants of the city, along with the Town Council, in the new Town Hall, and it was resolved to send a deputation of four to treat with the Jacobite leaders. The deputation, however, went no further than

² *Contemporary MS.* by John Scott of Heatheryknowe in Monkland parish.

Kilsyth, as it heard there that the Prince and his Highland host had already moved towards Edinburgh.

On the same day the provost wrote to the Lord Justice Clerk and the Lord Advocate informing them of the danger threatening the city. He referred to "our naked, defenceless state, without arms . . . the distance of His Majesty's forces ; the vicinity of the rebels, within twelve miles of us, with a force of at least 4000 . . . our reputation for wealth, and the great value of goods of various kinds must always be in a place like ours ; the nature of our enemy—men under little order or discipline, who want nothing more than the plunder of such a town as ours ; and the absolute stop our fears and the neighbourhood of the rebels have put to all manner of industry. . . . This has thrown us into infinite disorder and confusion, which is far from being at an end. . . . Our case is extremely deplorable, that we must truckle to a pretended prince and rebels, and, at an expense we are not able to bear, purchase a protection from plunder and rapine." ³

Before this letter reached Edinburgh the authorities there were having enough to do in thinking of the safety of the capital. Gardiner's dragoons, hopelessly outnumbered, had fallen back from a movement to defend the Fords of Frew ; on 15th September the Jacobite army reached Corstorphine, and on the 17th Prince Charles Edward slept in the palace of his ancestors at Holyrood.

On the same day, at Dunbar, General Cope began the disembarking of his army, which he had brought by sea from Aberdeen, and four days later, on 21st September, he was utterly routed by the clansmen in the few minutes' conflict at Prestonpans. Four days later still the Prince's demand on Glasgow was renewed, when the Jacobite quarter-master, John Hay, in private life an obscure writer, rode into the city at the head of a party of horse. The levy was now demanded in the

³ *Contemporary MS.* by John Scott of Heatheryknowe, pp. 14, 15.

form of a loan, for which the entire excise and tax duties of Clydesdale were assigned as security, and, as part of the sum asked for, the Prince stated his willingness to accept "two thousand broadswords, at reasonable rates." ⁴

Resistance was useless, as no Government force remained in Scotland except the garrisons in the castles of Edinburgh, Dunbarton, and Stirling, and in the three forts on the line of the Great Glen. All that could be done was to make the best bargain possible. At the first alarm Provost Cochrane had called another meeting of the Town Council and the principal citizens, at which commissioners were appointed to deal with the emergency. These commissioners, with much difficulty, induced Hay to modify his demand to £5500, and under the spur of stark necessity, the inhabitants produced their money, bank notes, and such bills as they could draw. A loan of £1500 was also, as already mentioned, secured from the Earl of Glencairn, and Hay departed with £5000 in cash and notes and £500 in goods.⁵

So little were the citizens daunted by this experience that three days afterwards they celebrated King George's birthday with increased enthusiasm. In his "Narrative of Proceedings" Provost Cochrane says, "On the 30th we solemnized his Majesty's birthday with all manner of rejoicing, such as illuminations, bonfires, ringing of bells, convening all persons of distinction and the principal inhabitants in the town hall, and drinking the usual and some new loyal healths." ⁶ At the same time, partly from the spirit of loyalty to the reigning house, and partly from a desire to prevent a repetition of the experience to which they had just been subjected, a movement was set on foot for the raising of an armed force in the city. A warrant for the purpose, dated 12th September, was received

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 133.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 15th, 26th, 27th and 30th Sept., 17th Dec., 1745; 8th Sept., 1746. *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. 11.

⁶ *Cochrane Correspondence*, p. 30.

from King George,⁷ and Glasgow mobilized two regiments of six hundred men each. A subscription was raised among the principal citizens to pay the private soldiers, for two months, at the rate of eight pence per day, while the officers maintained themselves.⁸ There was some delay in securing arms for these levies, as there was no means of getting stores out of Edinburgh Castle while the Highland army remained in the capital. The Jacobite forces, however, left Edinburgh for England on 31st October, and on 26th November, Captain Clark brought to Glasgow, from General Guest, 1000 firelocks, with bayonets and cartouche boxes, as well as eight barrels of gunpowder and ten of musket balls.⁹

The Earl of Home, who had been with Cope's army at Prestonpans, was appointed to command the Glasgow forces, and as further parties of Highlanders, Lord Lovat's clansmen and others, were gathering at Perth, and threatening the fords of the Forth, the first Glasgow regiment of six hundred men was sent to guard the passage at Stirling. Bailie Allan, an officer of the regiment, sent home a graphic picture of the situation there. "They are," he said, "about three hundred Hilenders said to be at Doun and Dumblen. They keep a strong gaird at the Bridg of Allan, and some of them in small companies wer shouing themselves yesterday but a miel of Stirling, upon a rock, and was said to be come to intercep a bark that was coming up the watter with meall and barlie. They are very opresife wheir they cum, they sufred non coming by the bridg of Allan pas for Stirling yesterday, which was the market day, but they caused pay six-pence, or ells behove to turn back. Their is of Stirling Malichie on companie stationed at Buckie burn, on at Leckie parks, and on at Kippen Kirk."¹⁰ The presence of the Glasgow regiment, however, prevented the Highlanders from crossing the Forth and raiding the Lothians.

In the middle of December it became known that the

⁷ *Cochrane Correspondence*, pp. 19, 20. ⁸ *Ibid.* p. 82, *Burgh Records*.

⁹ *Burgh Records*, 3rd December, 1745. ¹⁰ *Curiosities of Citizenship*, p. 11.



INTERIOR OF THE FOULIS ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS IN GLASGOW UNIVERSITY.
From the engraving after David Allan.

Jacobite army had stopped its southward march at Derby, and was in full retreat towards Scotland. Thereupon both of the Glasgow regiments were marched to the defence of Edinburgh, and the western city was left unprotected as before.

On Christmas Day the vanguard of the Highlanders reached Glasgow. On this occasion the citizens had even greater reason to fear reprisals than at the former alarm in September. There is a tradition, indeed, that the Highlanders actually intended to wreak a signal vengeance on the city, and that this was only prevented by the intervention of Lochiel, one of the most faithful supporters of the cause of Charles. For that service, it is said, though the tradition lacks confirmation, the citizens resolved that for ever afterwards, when "the gentle Lochiel" should visit Glasgow, the bells of the city should be rung. As a matter of fact the Highlanders must be held to have behaved with singular moderation during their stay in the town. They were billeted in public and private houses, mostly the latter, and lived at free quarters during their stay; but nothing in the way of serious plundering or personal ill-usage at their hands is on record. Robert Reid, who, under the name of Senex, in his old age, compiled the highly interesting collection of memoirs entitled *Glasgow Past and Present*, has put it on record that his mother, with her three sisters, aged from seven to sixteen, were then living alone with a servant in a house at the foot of the Cow Loan, now Queen Street. Two Highlanders were quartered in their house, but gave very little trouble. They were "poor ragged creatures, without shoes or stockings, who could not speak a word of English." All they required was "a bed, and liberty to dress their meals at the kitchen fire—which meals consisted almost wholly of oatmeal porridge and barley bannocks."

The Prince himself, during the week he spent in Glasgow, lodged in the Shawfield Mansion at the West Port, then the residence of Colonel Macdowall, the West India sugar magnate. During his stay, in order to gain the favour of the citizens, it is

said he ate twice a day in public view at the house. His dress was usually of fine silk tartan, with crimson velvet breeches, but sometimes he wore an English court coat, with the ribbon, star, and other insignia of the Order of the Garter. Quite obviously, however, his cause was not popular in the city. According to Provost Cochrane, "He appeared four times publicly in our streets, without acclamations or one huzza ; no ringing of bells or smallest respect or acknowledgment paid him by the meanest inhabitant. Our very ladies had not the curiosity to go near him, and declined going to a ball held by his chiefs."

Nevertheless the Prince was not entirely without friends in Glasgow. In particular, it was here that, as already mentioned, he met for the first time Clementina Walkinshaw, daughter of the stout Jacobite erstwhile Laird of Barrowfield. Whatever were the incidents, the beautiful nineteen year old girl, who was his mother's god-daughter, and who bore his mother's name, possessed a powerful fascination for the Prince, and to that meeting in Glasgow, in circumstances of hectic romance, remains to be attributed the relationship which played so notable a part in his later career.¹

The memory of the Prince was long perpetuated in Glasgow by another curious tradition. The Rev. James Stewart, first minister of the Relief Church set up in Anderston by the founder of the city's cotton industry, James Monteith, was said to be a son of Charles. His quaint manse still stands in Argyle Street, a few doors east of Bishop Street. If the enemies of the Jacobite cause were to be believed, the "Young Chevalier" would be a not unsuccessful candidate for the reputation of his grand-uncle, Charles II, as, in rather too literal a sense, "the father of his people."

Another incident of Prince Charles's stay in Glasgow had an immediate effect on the spirits both of the royal adventurer himself and of his followers. It was here that the momentous

¹ See *supra*, p. 126.

news reached him that the French Government was at last actually preparing an invasion of Britain on a formidable scale. That news put fresh hope and vigour into the Jacobite enterprise, and it was not till months afterwards that this hope was extinguished by tidings that the French expedition had had its purpose frustrated before it crossed the Channel.²

The most outstanding event of the Jacobite occupation of the city was the review of his forces which Charles held on Glasgow Green. The review was held on the Fleshers Haugh, at the eastern end of the Green, a low-lying area which has since had its level raised. According to the manuscript journal of one who took part in the review, "We marched out with drums beating, colours flying, bagpipes playing, and all the marks of a triumphant army, attended by multitudes of people who had come from all parts to see us." During the review Charles himself stood under a thorn tree on the north-western slope of the Fleshers Haugh, "about a hundred yards east of the Round Seat." Another eyewitness of the occasion has placed on record an interesting impression of the Prince's appearance. "I managed to get so near him," says this person, "that I could have touched him, and the impression which he made upon my mind shall never fade as long as I live. He had a princely aspect, and its interest was much heightened by the dejection which appeared in his pale fair countenance and down-cast eye. He evidently wanted confidence in his cause, and seemed to have a melancholy forboding of that disaster which soon ruined the hopes of his family for ever."³

² A force of 9000 foot and 1350 cavalry under the Duke of Richelieu was actually collected at the French Channel ports, but on the appearance of a strong British fleet under Admiral Vernon the project was abandoned.

³ Alison's *Anecdote of Glasgow*, 167. Curious differences exist in descriptions of the Prince. Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk, who says he stood close to him in the courtyard at Holyrood, writes: "He was a good looking man of about five feet ten inches; his hair was dark red and his eyes black. His features were regular, his visage long, much sunburnt and freckled, and his countenance thoughtful and melancholy."—*Autobiography*, p. 153.

Dougal Graham, the hunchbacked Glasgow bellman, pedlar, and chapbook writer who as a young man followed the Jacobite army throughout its campaign, has described, in his rhyming chronicle, the change which the week's rest and refurnishing effected in the appearance of the Prince's followers :

“ The shot was rusted in the gun,
 Their swords from scabbards would not twin,
 Their count'nance fierce as a wild bear,
 Out o'er their eyes hang down their hair,
 Their very thighs red tanned quite,
 But yet as nimble as they'd been white.
 Their beards were turned black and brown,
 The like was ne'er seen in that town.
 Some of them did barefooted run
 Minded no mire nor stoney groun';
 But when shaven, drest, and clothed again,
 They turned to be like other men.”⁴

The Jacobite demand upon the city on this occasion was for 12,000 linen shirts, 600 cloth coats, and as many pairs of shoes, tartan hose, and blue bonnets, and a sum of money.⁵ When the magistrates remonstrated, they were told by Quartermaster Hay that they were rebels, and that the Prince was resolved to make them “ an example of his just severity, that would strike terror into other places.” Under fear of a general sack of the city the Town Council exerted itself to comply with the demands, and when the Jacobite army marched out of Glasgow on 3rd February it presented a very different appearance from what it wore at the time of its entry. As security for the speedy delivery of some of the clothing which could not be supplied in time, the rebels took with them as hostages two Glasgow merchants, one of them a bailie.⁶

⁴ *Collected Writings*, vol. i. p. 123. Dougal Graham remains *facile princeps* in his own peculiar province of popular literature. A full account of his career is given in the introduction to his *Collected Works* and also in *Strang's Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 90.

⁵ *Cochrane Correspondence*, p. 62; *Burgh Records*, 8th Sept., 1746.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 8th Sept., 1764.

A few weeks later, on 17th February, on the high ground of South Bantaskine, above Falkirk, the Highland army won its last victory, defeating General Hawley and the Government forces under his command. Among these forces were the two Glasgow regiments, and the clansmen are said to have visited special fury upon them, as not called upon by duty, like the regular soldiers, to take part in the conflict. As Dougal Graham puts it—

Glasgow and Paisley volunteers,
Eager to fight, it so appears,
With the Dragoons advanced in form,
Who 'mong the first did feel the storm.
The Highlanders, seeing their zeal,
Their Highland vengeance poured like hail.
On red coats they some pity had,
But 'gainst militia were raging mad."

The 16th of April, 1746, saw the Highland army finally defeated at Culloden, and all fear of further invasion removed from the country. The event was duly "solemnized" with a cake and wine banquet by the city fathers on 21st April, and a deputation was sent to Inverness to congratulate the Duke of Cumberland, who was presented with the freedom of the city in a gold box;⁷ but it was not till four years later that Glasgow received compensation from Parliament for the supplies and levies which had been exacted from the city by the Jacobite forces. Provost Cochrane and his brother-in-law, Bailie George Murdoch, were commissioned to go to London, to urge the town's claim, and for a full half year they were detained there, interviewing ministers and members of Parliament. A strong party in the House of Commons opposed the claim, which they termed "the Glasgow Job," and "The Duke of Argyll's Job."⁸ Certain English members could not forget that Glasgow was

⁷ *Burgh Records*, 1st Aug., 8th and 26th Sept., 1746.

⁸ Glasgow was at this time represented in Parliament by John Campbell of Mamore, who in 1761 succeeded his cousin as 4th Duke of Argyll.

the successful rival of their constituencies in the tobacco trade and the sugar trade. Provost Cochrane wrote home to his wife, "I am sure I am much to be pitied. I would rather have paid great part of what we expect than to have had this plague and vexation. I shall be away from my dearest wife and best affairs for an age, losing my time and spending the town's money, and vexing and fatiguing myself, and all to no purpose. God pity me and give an happy end to this vexing affair!"⁹

In the end a sum of £10,000 was granted by Parliament to the city in repayment of the requisitions which had been made upon it by the Jacobite army, and the labours of the very capable provost and his brother-in-law were formally acknowledged: "The Magistrates and Council, for themselves and in name of the community, being sensible of the Provost and George Murdoch, their good services and diligence in procuring such relief to the town, do tender them their most hearty thanks."¹⁰ In further honour of the worthy provost the street in the city originally known as Cotton Street had its name changed to Cochrane Street. Cochrane refused to accept any tangible consideration whatever for his strenuous labour and anxiety, but the magistrates presented Bailie Murdoch with £50 sterling for his extraordinary expenses and £100 to be either in specie or plate as he might choose.¹

⁹ *Cochrane Correspondence*, pp. 126-9.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 14th June, 1749.

¹ *Ibid.* 29th Sept., 1749. The expenses incurred by Provost Cochrane and Bailie Murdoch on their mission to London amounted to £472 11s. 8½d.—*Ibid.* 10th Aug. 1749. Cochrane has been called the greatest of the Glasgow Provosts. With his brother-in-law, Bailie Murdoch, he founded the Thistle Bank and was a leader in other chief business enterprises of the city. "Jupiter" Carlyle, the minister of Inveresk, who was a student at Glasgow University in his time, says he was a man of high talent and education, and that he was of great service to Adam Smith in collecting material for *The Wealth of Nations*. Among other social services, he founded a club which met weekly to discuss the nature and principles of trade in all its branches (*Carlyle's Autobiography*, p. 73).

CHAPTER XXV

THE RISE OF BANKING AND THE DEEPENING OF THE CLYDE

UPON the final clearing away of the Jacobite menace, after the battle of Culloden in 1746, Glasgow found prosperity flowing upon it in a rising tide. One of the most significant evidences of this development was the establishing of the joint-stock banks, which began in the year 1750. Previously the working of finance in Scotland had been rather a cumbrous business. Down to the time of George Hutcheson, the Glasgow notary, money could only be borrowed on the security of actual property—wadsets or bonds upon landed estates, or the deposit of jewels and other valuables. In *The Fortunes of Nigel* Sir Walter Scott gives a fair picture of the latter process in the dealings of King James VI. with the Edinburgh goldsmith and money-lender, George Heriot. George Hutcheson introduced the less cumbrous method of lending money upon the personal security of responsible guarantors, and sixty years later the Darien Company carried matters further when it granted loans to its subscribers on the security of their holdings of its own shares. Edinburgh led the way in the setting up of regular joint-stock banks in Scotland. The Bank of England had been founded in 1694 on the plan of the Dumfriesshire farmer's son and West Indian merchant, William Paterson, and, following its example, the Bank of Scotland had been incorporated in the following year. Its capital to begin with was £100,000, the amount called up £10,000, and its business limited to the advancing of money on bills and bonds

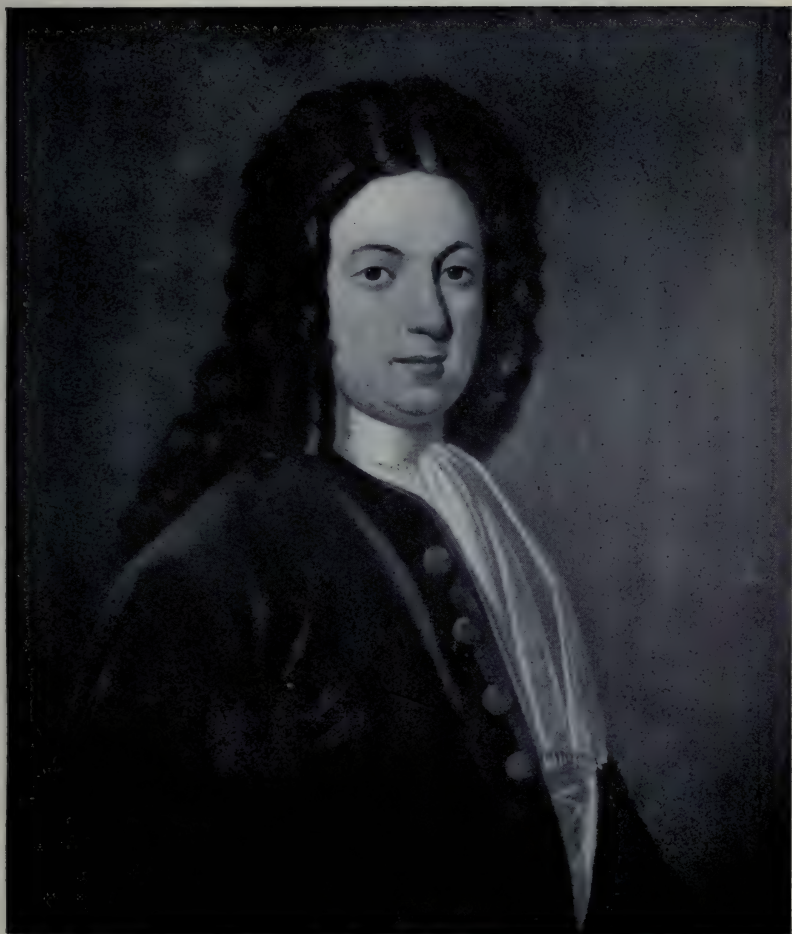
by the issue of notes for sums of £5, £10, £50, and £100 sterling. A second company, the Royal Bank of Scotland, was established by charter in 1727 with, for its capital, a large part of the debentures, amounting to £248,550, which had been issued in payment of the Scottish national debts, and upon which interest of £10,000 per annum was to be paid out of the Scottish customs and excise. Little more than a fourth part of the capital of this company was held in Scotland, so the Royal had only a branch office in Edinburgh, but its first governor was Archibald, Earl of Ilay, afterwards third Duke of Argyll.¹

One of the difficulties of these early banks is illustrated by an incident which took place on 27th March, 1728. On that day Andrew Cochrane, Provost of Glasgow, presented at the office of the Bank of Scotland £900 of its notes for change into coin of the realm. There was none to give him. Two-thirds of the capital of the bank and all its notes had been lent out on heritable and personal bonds, which could not be immediately turned into cash, and already there had been a run on the bank for the cashing of its notes, engineered, it was suspected, by the rival Royal Bank, which had emptied the till. The bank claimed the privilege of deferring payment of cash, and promised interest until payment was made. The Court of Session upheld this claim, but Provost Cochrane carried the case to the House of Lords, which reversed that decision and declared that banks must meet their promises to pay in the same manner as private individuals.² In this matter the stout Glasgow provost vindicated the principle upon which the entire integrity and success of the Scottish banking system since then have been based.

The banking experience of the western city itself had been suggestive enough. In 1696, the year after its foundation in Edinburgh, and again in 1731, the Bank of Scotland had opened branch offices in Glasgow, but had closed them after a short

¹ *Hist. of Royal Bank of Scotland*, by Neil Munro, p. 34.

² *Ibid.* p. 60.



PROVOST ANDREW COCHRANE, 1693-1777.

experience. The reason usually given for this want of success is that the bank would not deal in bills of exchange.³ There is room, however, to surmise that the enterprise laboured in Glasgow under the prevalent feeling that the promoters of the Bank of Scotland were more or less Jacobite in sentiment. Its Tory directors had opposed the Treaty of Union, its treasurer was a Jacobite, and the Government was known to suspect its political sympathies.⁴ On the other hand the Royal Bank was notably Hanoverian in sympathies. Its governor and the most active members of its staff were Campbells, and it was known to have the warm support of the Duke of Argyll, the victor of Sheriffmuir. It was significant that when the Government granted compensation to the city for its losses on account of the Jacobite visitation of 1745, the money was paid through the Royal Bank,⁵ and when in the year of the great frost Glasgow found it necessary to borrow a large sum for the feeding of the poor, it was from the Royal Bank that the money was obtained.⁶ But the Royal had no branch in the western city till 1783, when the famous Glasgow citizen, David Dale, was appointed joint agent there.

Meanwhile in Glasgow a considerable banking business was carried on by private traders. In the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* in July, 1730, James Blair, merchant, at the head of Saltmarket, advertised that, at his shop there, "all persons who have occasion to buy or sell bills of exchange, or want money to borrow, or have money to lend on interest, etc., may deliver their demands." It was not till 1750 that the hour struck when Glasgow was to have a bank of its own. At that time the largest banking business in the city was probably being done by the Glasgow Tanwork Company, which carried on its ordinary operations, with tanning pits and other appurtenances,

³ Buchanan's *Banking in Glasgow during the Olden Time*.

⁴ *Hist. Royal Bank*, p. 52.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 8th Nov. 1749.

⁶ *Hist. Royal Bank*, p. 86.

beside the Molendinar, near the Gallowgate. Among its patrons were Provost Andrew Cochrane and many other notable merchants. Fifteen years later, in 1765, its deposits amounted to no less than £40,000.⁷ It was in January, 1750, that the first regular Glasgow bank began business in a small office in the old dwelling of the Coulters at the south corner of Briggate and Saltmarket.⁸ Its partners were William McDowall of Castle Semple, Andrew Buchanan of Drumpellier, Allan Dreghorn of Ruchill, Robert Dunlop, merchant, Colin Dunlop of Carmyle, and Alexander Houston of Jordanhill, all men of wealth and high standing in the city. It was known as the Ship Bank, and its operations were carried on under the firm name of Colin Dunlop, Alexander Houston & Co. It owed its success largely to the unremitting labours of the famous Robin Carrick, its manager for a long lifetime. "Sicker, far-seeing, resolute, passionless, spending his days in the dingy Bank parlour, and his lonely, joyless evenings in the old flat above, he died there on 20th June, 1821."⁹ He was eighty-one years of age, and left about a million sterling.

⁷ The Tanwork Company was entrusted with large deposits from many parts of Scotland, on which it paid interest at $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 5 per cent. A list of the depositors and the sums at their credit is given by Senex in *Old Glasgow and its Environs*, p. 123.

⁸ Photograph in *The Old Ludgings of Glasgow*, p. 58.

⁹ Mitchell, *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 21. There remained, nevertheless, one grain of sentiment under the hard crust of the grim old banker's nature. George Buchanan, the great Tobacco Lord, builder of the famous Virginia Mansion, when at the height of his fortunes had employed a divinity student as a tutor for his family, and afterwards got him inducted as parish minister of Houston. Later, when George Buchanan's son, Provost Andrew Buchanan, was helping to found the Ship Bank, he got his old tutor's son, Robin Carrick, then about fourteen, a place as message boy in the establishment. When the crash came to the tobacco trade, with the revolt of the American colonies, the Buchanans were ruined. But Provost Andrew's brother, David, when the war was over, went to the United States, and recovered enough of the family fortunes to return and purchase again his grandfather's estate of Drumpellier. He was again on the verge of ruin through a law plea in America, when Robin Carrick died, and it was found that he had left nearly his whole fortune to the son of his father's old patron. From that circumstance the Buchanans of Drumpellier took the name of Carrick-Buchanan. *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. 25. Mitchell, *Old Glasgow Papers*, p. 164.

Not to be outdone by their rivals in business, another group of Glasgow merchants, with Andrew Cochrane at their head, started the Glasgow Arms Bank in November of the year in which the Ship Bank opened its doors. There were twenty-six partners, and the office was a small place up a narrow stair, also in that fashionable business quarter, the Briggate. It carried on business under the name of Andrew Cochrane, John Murdoch & Company.

The procedure adopted by these banks and the others that followed them was to lodge in the hands of the Town Clerk bonds signed by all their partners guaranteeing payment of their notes. In their case a "seal of cause," such as the Magistrates and Town Council granted to the various crafts and incorporations to enable them to sue and be sued and to hold property as corporate bodies, was not required, but the joint guarantee of all the partners, thus duly registered, served a not less important purpose.

Threatened with this rivalry in the western city, the two Edinburgh banks joined forces in a rather ungenerous attempt to put the Glasgow banks out of business. For this purpose they employed a rather despicable individual. Alexander Trotter, an Edinburgh accountant, who had been an early partner in the afterwards great banking firm of Coutts & Company, was sent to Glasgow. There he set about the business of embarrassing the new private banks by collecting their notes, and then presenting them in large amounts and demanding payment in cash. The Glasgow bankers met the attacks by paying out the money in sixpences, a device which had been adopted by the Edinburgh banks themselves in a similar emergency. On one occasion a whole forenoon was taken to make a payment of £7, and the total amount thus cashed in thirty-four business days was £2893. Trotter, on 23rd January 1759, made a formal protest, then brought an action in the Court of Session against the Glasgow Arms Bank for payment

of the notes which he held, amounting to £3447, with interest from the date of his protest, as well as £600 damages. He also asked it to be declared that the bank had no powers to limit its hours of business, but must cash its notes on demand at any time between seven in the morning and ten at night. The case drifted on for four years, and was in the end taken out of Court on the bank paying Trotter £600. The amount probably did no more than cover his expenses, and the Glasgow Arms Bank had secured the purpose of its defence.¹⁰

During the next half-century a number of other private banking companies were established in Glasgow. In 1761 the Thistle Bank was set up by Sir Walter Maxwell of Pollok and partners; in 1769 the Merchant Banking Company by a number of small traders in the Saltmarket; in 1785 Thomson's Bank, by a father and two sons of that name; and in 1809 the Glasgow Bank, at the south-west corner of Montrose and Ingram Streets, was founded and managed by James Denniston of Golfhill.¹ At a later day the oldest and the latest of these banks united to become the Glasgow and Ship Bank, and later still, along with the Thistle Bank, were embodied in the Union Bank of Scotland. The Glasgow Arms Bank and the Merchant Banking Company stopped payment during the crisis of the French Revolution, but paid their creditors in full.²

It cannot be doubted that the credits and other facilities afforded by these banks played a large part in developing the trade and industry of Glasgow in the second half of the eighteenth century. Nor was the Town Council slow to avail itself of the financial convenience which the banks afforded.

¹⁰ *The Scotsman*, 5th April, 1826. Forbes, *Memoirs of a Banking House*, 2nd ed., p. 5. Reproductions of the notes of some of these old Glasgow banks, with interesting details regarding their signatories, are printed in Frazer's *Making of Buchanan Street*, pp. 5-8.

¹ *Glasgow Past and Present*, p. 462; *Curiosities of Citizenship*, p. 141.

² *Hist. Royal Bank*, p. 156.



ROBERT (ROBIN) CARRICK, 1737-1821.

From a painting in possession of the Carrick-Buchanan family.
Reproduced by permission from *The History of the Union Bank*.

In 1754, when considerable expense fell to be incurred in improving certain turnpike roads leading into the city—the Renfrew and Three Mile House roads, and the road from Gorbals by Paisley Loan to Govan—it was arranged to take credit “from any of the banks in the city” to defray the cost, till this could be recovered out of the tolls. And a few months later it was agreed to open an account with the “new bank company,” otherwise the Glasgow Arms Bank, upon which the Provost was empowered to draw sums for the town’s use up to a total amount of £1000.³

Another enterprise which the rising trade of Glasgow quickened with astonishing effect was the deepening and improvement of the harbour. Again and again in the two hundred years since it became a self-governing community the city had made efforts to secure its passage to the open sea. As long ago as the year 1566 it had joined with the burghs of Renfrew and Dunbarton in an attempt to deepen the channel at Dumbuck,⁴ and again in 1611, after securing from James VI. the freedom of the river “from the Clochstane to the Brig of Glasgow,” it had sought the advice of Henry Crawford, the Culross engineer, and under his direction had again attacked the obstruction at Dumbuck with chains, ropes, hogsheads, and other apparatus.⁵ But these efforts still left the river little more than a shallow salmon stream. Over a hundred years had elapsed since William Simpson, that native of St. Andrews whom McUre describes as “a great projector” of Glasgow trade, “built two ships at the Bremmylaw, and brought them down the river the time of a great flood.” When the first Glasgow vessel to trade with Virginia, a craft of sixty tons, was built on the Clyde in 1716, the work had to be done at Crawford’s-dyke, between Port-Glasgow and Greenock, as no natural flood would have

³ *Burgh Records*, 16th April, 26th Sept. 1754.

⁴ *Cleland’s Annals*, 1817, p. 371.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, i. 329.

been great enough to float her down the river. Port-Glasgow, it is true, in the fifty years of its history had thoroughly justified its existence, but the conveyance of the transhipped cargoes between that seaport and the parent city still presented serious difficulties by reason of the sandbanks, islands, and shallow channel of the Clyde. Notwithstanding these hindrances, the extension of trade made it necessary in 1723 to enlarge the quay at the Broomielaw, and the Town Council, the Trades House, and probably the Merchants House, spent £1833 6s. 8d. sterling in extending it as far as "St. Tennesis burn foot, opposite to the Dowcat Green"—that is, about the present Dixon Street, where the Dowcat or Old Green began.⁶ Regarding the harbour, as thus improved, McUre, a few years later, indulged in one of his bursts of eloquence. "There is not," he says, "such a fresh water harbour to be seen in any place in Britain. It is strangely fenced with beams of oak, fastened with iron bolts within the wall thereof, that the great boards of ice in time of thaw may not offend it; and it is so large that a regiment of horse may be exercised thereupon."⁷

McUre's remarks may have helped to stimulate further enterprise, for in 1736, the year in which his *History* was published, the Town Council ordered an inspection to be made of the sandbanks in the river below the Broomielaw, and agreed to expend £20 sterling "for an experiment upon one of the sandbanks for clearing the river."⁸ In this small and tentative fashion was begun again the great engineering achievement which in two hundred years has made the Clyde at Glasgow one of the most commodious harbours in the world.

Four years later another effort was made to remove the sandbanks below the Broomielaw. The magistrates were empowered to "go the length of £100 sterling of charges there-

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 22nd June, 1722; 12th Nov. 1724.

⁷ *Hist. Glasg.*, 1830 ed., p. 231, append. 347.

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 2nd July, 1736.

upon," and to build a flat-bottomed boat "for carrying off the sand and shingle from the banks." ⁹

Just then the success of the rising harbour town of Greenock may have given a spur to the efforts of Glasgow. Under the energetic guidance of its superior, Sir John Shaw, that place had developed into a thriving port, and secured the charter of a royal burgh, and in 1740 had repaid all the capital expended upon its harbour, and realized a surplus of 27,000 merks or £1500 sterling. Its customs realized over £15,000 per annum.¹⁰ Greenock clearly was a possible rival by no means to be despised.

In 1743 came a petition from the shipmasters of Glasgow and the Clyde ports for the setting up of a lighthouse on the Little Cumbrae, already referred to, though an Act of Parliament for the purpose was not secured till 1756.¹ A similar petition was received in 1751 from the merchants and feuars in Port-Glasgow, offering to supervise the marking of the channel with buoys and perches, and asking that the "mud boat" be constantly employed in cleaning the harbour there. To these proposals the Magistrates and Council promptly agreed.²

For the interests of Glasgow itself, however, the improvement of the channel of the upper river was a matter of more vital and immediate importance. Upon this subject the Town Council again proceeded to seek the best expert advice. James Stirling, manager of the Scots mining company's works at Leadhills, was a noted mathematician and engineer. One of his numerous papers contributed to the Transactions of the Philosophical Society described "A Machine to Blow Fire by

⁹ *Ibid.* 8th May, 1740. Instead of building a new boat the magistrates requisitioned and repaired "the Port Glasgow dirt boat."—*Ibid.* 29th Aug. 1740.

¹⁰ Weir's *Hist. of Greenock*, p. 42. Williamson's *Old Greenock*, p. 75.

¹ *Burgh Records*, 17th Feb. 1743; 16th June, 1756.

² *Ibid.* 22nd Jan. 1751.

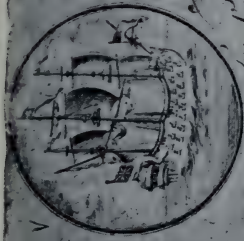
the Fall of Water.”³ His idea was to make Glasgow accessible to vessels of larger size by the building of locks on the river. “For his service, pains, and trouble in surveying Clyde, towards the deepening thereof by locks,” the Town Council presented him with a silver tea-kettle and lamp, engraved with the city arms, at a cost of £28 4s. 4d. sterling.⁴

Fortunately Stirling's recommendations were not carried out, nor were those, three years later, of John Smeaton, engineer of the Eddystone Lighthouse and of the Forth and Clyde Canal. Between Glasgow Bridge and Renfrew Smeaton found twelve shoals, four of which had no more than eighteen inches depth at low water and one, some four hundred yards below the bridge, only fifteen inches. His proposal was that a weir and lock should be constructed at Marling Ford, about four miles below the bridge, to allow vessels seventy-six feet long and of four-and-a-half feet draught to pass up to the Broomielaw at all states of the tide. Had these recommendations been carried out they might have restricted the possibilities of the harbour of Glasgow for all time. But Smeaton was paid twenty guineas for his advice and the Merchants House and the Trades House proceeded to urge the Town Council to apply to Parliament for authority to proceed with the work. They declared themselves willing to pay such dues on all vessels passing through the locks as would recoup the city for the expense entailed.⁵ Smeaton was accordingly invited, in 1758, to elaborate the details of his scheme. At the same time Alexander Wilson, the famous typefounder, was employed to

³ Stirling's career forms the subject of an article in Mitchell's *Old Glasgow Essays*. Third son of Alexander Stirling of Garden, he was expelled from Oxford because of his Jacobite connection, lived as a professor of mathematics at Venice for some years, but, having discovered the secret of plate-glass making, had to flee for his life in 1725. For ten years he taught mathematics in London, enjoying the friendship of Newton and other men of science, till in 1735 he was appointed manager of the mines at Leadhills.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, i. July, 1752.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 5th Aug. 1757; 13th March and 11th April, 1758.



Five Pounds. Per—

257

Glasgow

May 1765

J. Alexander, Mercer, Cashier appointed,
by Colin Dunlop, Alexander, Houston and Company

Bankers in Glasgow, pursuant to powers from them, promise
to pay to *John Houston* or the Bearer on demand

Five Pounds sterling, the date, number, & Creditors name are
inserted by me, & these presents, signed by me, & the said Colin Dunlop,
and Alexander Houston, — *James Houston*

Colin Dunlop

John Houston

337

FIVE-POUND NOTE OF THE SHIP BANK—PAID BY THE UNION BANK OF SCOTLAND IN 1907.
Reproduced by permission from *The History of the Union Bank*.



make a survey of the river. Parliament was approached, and in due course an Act was secured—the first of the Clyde Navigation Acts—empowering the Town Council to carry out the enterprise.⁶ The Act empowered the Town Council to deepen the river from Dumbuck Ford to Glasgow Bridge, to make locks and weirs, and to carry out other necessary works. To this end £3200 were borrowed, and preparations were made for the construction of a lock, but on account of the difficulties encountered the scheme was in the end abandoned.⁷

In 1764 another suggestion was made which may have afforded the idea for the plan which was actually carried out. At the desire of several of the merchants one Dr. Wark submitted a proposal for deepening the river by means of its own current. His idea was to confine the current by means of a whin or furze dyke two or three yards broad. The difficulty in this case seems to have been to secure a sufficient supply of furze, and, probably for this reason, nothing more was done with the proposal.⁸

It was not till 1768 that the project was taken up again. The Town Council then consulted John Golborne of Chester, and in the following year, on his recommendation, supplemented his report with one from James Watt, who was just then coming into repute through his improvements upon the steam-engine. Golborne's opinion was that it was "extremely practicable"

⁶ 32 George II. c. 62. *Burgh Records*, 13th March, 1758; 9th Jan. 1759; 31st May, 1759.

⁷ *Burgh Records*, 10th Aug. 1759. For details of the various schemes to improve the harbour see *The River Clyde*, by James Deas, engineer to the Clyde Navigation Trust, 1876. A contract was actually made with Smeaton to construct a lock and dam at the Marlingford, and in 1762 the work was going on (*Burgh Records*, 24th Nov. 1760; 25th Jan. 1762). Shortly afterwards, however, it was stopped, and Freebairn, an Edinburgh architect, who had been appointed master of works, made a claim for his broken engagement (*Ibid.* 3rd Jan., 13th May, 1763). Smeaton's tavern bill at the Exchange coffee-house while he was making his plan amounted to £18 10s. (*Ibid.* 26th Jan. 1761).

⁸ *Ibid.* 26th April, 1764.

to deepen the river up to the Broomielaw. By banking, straightening, and dredging he thought it possible to secure a depth of six feet of water there at neap tides and nine feet at spring tides, and the cost he estimated at £8640 or perhaps £10,000 sterling.⁹ Another Act of Parliament was then obtained, and Golborne and his nephew were employed to proceed with the work at a yearly salary of £220 sterling.¹⁰ Golborne's plan was to use the current of the river itself as far as possible for the deepening of the channel. Thus the current at Dumbuck Ford was to be thrown into a single channel instead of two, and by means of jetties and banks the flow of the tides was made to clear away the sand from the river bed. Golborne was afterwards engaged to secure a channel six feet deep from Dumbuck lower beacon to Longloch Point,¹ and so well were the city fathers pleased with his work that they presented him with a silver cup engraved with the city arms.² Two months later, having ascertained by soundings that by Golborne's labours the channel from the Broomielaw to Dumbuck had been made actually seven feet ten inches deep, the Town Council, on the suggestion of the Trades and the Merchants Houses, gave Golborne a gratuity of £1500 sterling, with £100 to his nephew for supervising the work.³

Almost immediately, it is true, the Town Council received complaints from Lord Blantyre and the burgh of Renfrew of damage entailed by Golborne's labours. Lord Blantyre complained that the jetties on each side of his ferry quay at Erskine had brought about an accumulation of sand which prevented the ferry boat approaching the quay, and the burgh of Renfrew alleged that the works had hurt its salmon fishery in the river. But his lordship was satisfied with the provision of thirty or forty pontoon loads of stone for the lengthening of his ferry

⁹ *Burgh Records*, 5th Jan. 1769.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 3rd Jan. 1771.

¹ *Ibid.* 2nd Nov. 1772.

² *Ibid.* 25th Oct. 1775. The cup cost £35 8s.

³ *Ibid.* 10th Dec. 1775.

quay, and Renfrew with a money payment which continues to be made annually till the present day.⁴ A similar claim was made by Paisley, a few years later, for the silting up of the mouth of the Cart, and was satisfied with a payment of £150. These, however, were insignificant drawbacks to the fact that the real and permanent development of the great harbour of Glasgow had been begun on practical lines.

⁴ *Ibid.* 2nd and 20th March, 1777; 3rd July, 5th Oct. 1787; 26th May, 1779. This was only the first of many claims made by the Lords Blantyre against the deepeners of the Clyde (*ibid.* 16th June, 1784, etc.), 5th Feb. 1784.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE FIRST GLASGOW STRIKES, TRADE UNIONS, FIRE BRIGADE, AND THEATRES

THE tide of prosperity which was rising in Glasgow as the middle of the eighteenth century drew near was accompanied by a number of domestic happenings of more or less significance.

A movement which may be regarded as the first strike of workmen in the history of the city took place among the journeyman wrights and masons. Past memory of man these workmen had begun their labours at six in the morning, and continued till eight at night in the workshop or seven at house-work. They now demanded that they should work for an hour less in the evening without deduction of wage, and several of them had already stopped work until these terms should be agreed to. To this the deacons and masters of the trades concerned replied by ordaining that no freeman should hire a journeyman except upon the time-honoured terms, under a penalty of ten merks for each infringement ; also that no freeman should hire another man's servant until he was cleared and quit of his former master. The demand, they considered, was " an imposition, not only on the freemen of the craft, but upon the lieges, and a species of oppression." On this ground the matter was placed before the Magistrates and Town Council, who duly " interponed " their authority, and the first Glasgow strike was at an end.¹

The trades already incorporated, like the masons and wrights,

¹ *Burgh Records*, 19th March, 1746.

might be regarded as associations rather of employers than of workmen, but the workmen also presently began to form societies. The first trades union formed upon the modern model in Glasgow was that of the "porters or workmen," who applied to the Magistrates and Council in 1748 for authority to enforce the rules of a society they proposed to set up. The first purpose of the society was the support of decayed members and their widows. They asked power to levy money for this purpose; and, to ensure that they would serve their employers honestly and faithfully, they further asked that no one should be allowed to be employed until he was a member of the society and had given caution for his honesty and good faith. Here again the Town Council "interponed" its authority, and the society of porters and workmen started its career. Each porter was provided with a badge, and unauthorised persons acting as porters were subject to a penalty of five shillings sterling.² The example was immediately followed by the horse setters or hirers of the city. In this case the rates for hiring horses were included in the constitution of the society. For a horse ridden single within six miles the hire was one shilling sterling, or if ridden double eighteen pence. For any distance up to a hundred miles the hire was twopence halfpenny per mile. If the horse were ridden thirty miles from Glasgow it could be kept six days, and if for less distances shorter periods. The hire of a chaise was tenpence per mile. In this case also authority was given to enforce the rules, and the society was duly set up, with oversman, collector, and other necessary officials.³

A much more delicate matter to settle was the claim made by the University and its professors for exemption from rates, taxes, and all public burdens, not only of the college itself, but of all their houses and lands within and without the city. In its earliest struggling days the University had been

² *Ibid.* 2nd April, 1748.

³ *Ibid.* 13th May, 1748.

granted a privilege of this sort by the Crown, but at that time its only property was the building in which its work of teaching was carried on and the regents and students lived. The enlarged demand now made was carried first to the Court of Session, but afterwards by mutual agreement was submitted to the arbitration of George Sinclair and Thomas Millar, advocates. After considering all the documents and hearing all the evidence, these gentlemen decided that while the college buildings themselves and their immediate precincts, including the houses of the professors and others, should be exempt from taxation, other properties within and without the city, owned by the college and its professors, must bear the same public burdens as the properties of other people.⁴ This decision put an end to the possibility of any great extension of an *imperium in imperio* which had more than once threatened serious trouble between town and gown. As matters stood, the exemption allowed to the buildings of the college afforded important and appropriate relief when, as in the following year, a tax was imposed by Parliament on windows and lights.⁵

Another institution whose suggestions at that time had far-reaching effects was the Fire Insurance Society. The lesson of disastrous conflagrations, to which the houses of that day were especially liable, had not been lost upon the citizens, and the plan of subscribing to an association which should undertake the risks of loss had already found favour.⁶ The next step was for that association to take measures to reduce the risk as far as possible. For many years ladders and water buckets had

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 14th Aug., 17th Nov. 1746.

⁵ *Ibid.* 16th April, 1747. So serious a burden was the window tax regarded by the clergy of Scotland that they subscribed £400 and sent Jupiter Carlyle to London as a special envoy to secure the exemption of the Scottish manses.—*Autobiography of Rev. Alexander Carlyle*, p. 496.

⁶ See *supra*, Chap. XVIII and *Burgh Records*, 12th Apr. 1726. The society was erected into a legal incorporation by the Magistrates and Town Council in 1758.—*Burgh Records*, 17th Jan.

been provided by the Town Council, and latterly even three "fire machines" for pumping the water had been procured. But in an emergency it was apt to be found that the buckets and ladders had been used for other purposes, or were out of repair, and that there was no expert at hand to attend the working of the "fire machines." The Fire Insurance Society now suggested the formation of a regular fire brigade. A certain Robert Craig was to be appointed fire-master, and for his trouble was to be exempted from all trade stent or taxation, as well as watching, warding, and quartering of soldiers, and to be paid five pounds sterling yearly. Twenty-four able men, instructed by him, were to be in readiness to turn out at fires, and were to practise the playing off of the machines four times a year. They were to have strong leather caps with the Glasgow arms painted in front to distinguish them when on duty, and were to be paid five shillings yearly, with further "reasonable gratification" for their trouble on the occasion of fires. Further, the servants in the tanneries, sugar houses, and other works, who had received burgess tickets gratis, were to be warned yearly by the magistrates to repair instantly upon alarm of fire, to carry the fire machines to the scene of action and assist in extinguishing the conflagration. The Fire Insurance Society backed its proposals with an offer to pay half of the cost, and the Town Council promptly agreed to the arrangement. From that date Glasgow has enjoyed the services of a more or less regular fire brigade.⁷ Even with the best appliances then available, however, little could be done to extinguish a really serious conflagration, and on 3rd June, two years later, a large part of the village of Gorbals, with its thatched roofs and narrow main street, was destroyed.⁸

⁷ *Burgh Records*, 7th May, 1747.

⁸ *Ibid.* 28th June, 1749. At that fire Major Wolfe, afterwards the victor at Quebec, is said to have taken part with a small party of soldiers in fighting the flames.—*Old Ludgings of Glasgow*, p. 61.

At the same time the benevolent and philanthropic spirit which has always been characteristic of Glasgow life remained in evidence. In 1747 Robert McNair, a merchant weaver, placed before the magistrates proposals for the erection of an institution like the modern industrial school or reformatory. He proposed to erect a building of two storeys and attics on the south side of Trongate, with accommodation in the attics for a hundred spinners, on the upper floor for weavers, warpers, winders, and confectioners, and on the ground floor for hecklers, lint buffers, clay searchers, and bakers, with kitchen and eating apartments. He proposed to appoint a manager and be at the entire expense of the establishment, in which he would receive all delinquents, boys and girls, committed to him by the magistrates, train them to useful employments, and furnish them with bed, board, and clothing. He demanded no more than the benefit of their work till they gave proof of their ability to earn their own bread and prove industrious citizens, and the establishment was to be under the supervision of the magistrates. The proposal was duly approved by the Town Council, who recommended the magistrates to deliver youthful delinquents to McNair "in so far as authorized by law."⁹ It is to be regretted that information is not available regarding the success or otherwise of McNair's enlightened enterprise.

But while attention was being paid to the material interests of the citizens in these various ways, the increase of prosperity was bringing about the development of taste for the arts and the lighter side of life. In 1750 the Town Council added to its gallery of royal portraits a painting of its good friend the Duke of Argyll, after whom Argyle Street was presently to be named. For that painting the city paid £42 to Allan Ramsay, son of the Edinburgh poet and bookseller.¹⁰ Forty guineas was evidently the recognised price for a portrait by a first-class artist in Scotland at that time. It was the fee paid to Sir Henry

⁹ *Burgh Records*, 1st Oct. 1747.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 1st May, 1750.



GRAHAMSTON, ARGYLE STREET IN 1793.



NORTH SIDE OF ARGYLE STREET BETWEEN UNION STREET AND QUEEN STREET IN 1793.

Raeburn by Gordon of Aikenhead for his own picture later in the century.

The art of the theatre also began to emerge from its long period of opprobrium. In the Scotland of pre-Reformation times the performance of plays had been a popular entertainment. Among outstanding examples was Sir David Lyndsay's "Satire of the Three Estates," performed before King James V. at Linlithgow in January, 1539/40, and occupying no less than nine hours in representation. But John Knox and his fellow disciplinarians had throttled all such carnal amusements with a determined hand,¹ and though James VI. invited the players of Shakespeare's company to Edinburgh, and they made their way as far as Aberdeen, it was only by his special patronage that they were allowed to perform. Dramatic art, like most other arts, was under a cloud in Scotland for more than a hundred years. The country was not without actors, but they were regarded, in Glasgow at any rate, as vagabonds and sons of Belial. In 1670 the magistrates interdicted "strolling stage-players from running through the streets and from performing plays in private houses, which they called 'The Wisdom of Solomon.'"² It was probably an act of great daring by which the masters of the Grammar School of Glasgow, in 1720, allowed the performance of something in the nature of drama by the scholars. The view of the Town Council on the subject was shown by a notice of it in the *Burgh Records*. The minute runs, "The Magistrates and Town Council, considering that the allowing of public balls, shows, comedies, and other plays or diversions, where acted in houses belonging to the town, and particularly in the Grammar School house, has occasioned great disturbance in the city, do therefore strictly prohibit and discharge the allowing of public balls, shows,

¹ See a number of curious extracts from the *Book of the Universal Kirk* (Maitland Club) quoted by Strang in *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 309.

² Cleland's *Annals*, ii. 189.

comedies, and other plays, and diversions, to be acted or done, within any of the town's houses, and particularly within the Grammar School, excepting such plays as are acted by the boys of the school, and have relation to their learning, and to be acted by none else but themselves, and none others to be present thereat but the masters and scholars of the school, and remit to the magistrates to see that this act be not contravened." ³

Times were changing however. At Edinburgh, in 1725, Allan Ramsay published his pastoral drama, "The Gentle Shepherd," and twelve years later he went so far as to build a theatre in Carrubber's Close. Edinburgh Town Council promptly stopped that enterprise, and nearly ruined the poet ; but the venture showed the veering of public taste. In 1728 a company of strolling players, Anthony Aston's, made their way from Edinburgh to Glasgow, and persuaded Bailie Murdoch to grant them permission to perform "The Beggar's Opera" in the Weigh House. They got a good audience on the first night, but afterwards, according to the Rev. Robert Wodrow, they "got not so much as to pay their music." The magistrates were blamed for granting permission, and the magistrates blamed the ministers, who should have interfered in time. "Sabbath after," says Wodrow, "the ministers preached against going to these interludes and plays. . . . Mr Rob of Kilsyth went through all that was a-going about meeting-houses, plays, errors, and profaneness, and spared none, as I hear." ⁴

In 1750 a play was staged in the hall in which Daniel Burrell taught dancing under the patronage of the Town Council, on the east side of High Street below the Bell of the Brae, and in 1752 a wooden theatre was fitted up against the wall of the Bishop's Palace. On its stage such actors as Diggs, Love,

³ *Burgh Records*, 20th Jan. 1721.

⁴ Wodrow's *Analecta*. Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, iii. 550.

Stampier, and Mrs. Ward appeared after the end of the season in Edinburgh. Popular opinion, however, still ran strongly against such amusements, and ladies and gentlemen coming to the performances from the lower, more fashionable parts of the town were regularly escorted by a military guard. The climax came in 1753 when Whitefield, the evangelist, preaching from a tent in the Cathedral churchyard, took occasion to point to the theatre and denounce it as the Devil's house. No sooner were the words spoken than the mob rushed to the spot and levelled the wooden building with the ground.⁵ It was probably in connection with this outrage that John Davidson, writer to the signet and the town's law agent, paid the sum of £7 16s. sterling on account, half of the college and half of the town, "in relation to the players that came there and set up a public playhouse last year."⁶

Eight years later another attempt was made. One, Jackson, a comedian, and two friends, came to Glasgow and sought the permission of the magistrates for the erection of a regular theatre. Already bitten, however, the city fathers refused to countenance the enterprise, and no one within the royalty could be found to sell a site for the building. At last a piece of ground was secured at the village of Grahamston, where the Central Railway Station now stands;⁷ a group of Glasgow merchants, including William McDowall of Castle Semple and James Dunlop of Garnkirk, subscribed the cost, and a theatre was erected. But on the opening night, in 1764, when Mrs. Bellamy and other respectable actors were engaged to appear, a disorderly crowd took possession of the theatre, stopped the

⁵ Cleland's *Annals*, ii. 139. Whitefield himself, however, denied this.—Tyerman's *Life of Whitefield*, ii. p. 314.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 21st Jan. 1754.

⁷ The village was named after John Graham of Dougalston who feued six acres of land on the west side of St. Enoch's Burn from Colin Campbell of Blythswood about 1709. One of Graham's sub-feuars was Miller of Westerton, in the parish of Bonhill, whose grandson sold a site for the theatre at the then exorbitant price of 5s. per square yard.

performance, and set fire to the stage. The whole interior was destroyed, and Mrs. Bellamy and the other performers lost all their wardrobe.⁸ The theatre itself, after some years of indifferent success, was burnt to the ground in 1780. Jackson then built a small theatre in Dunlop Street, which was opened in 1782. But now the tide of public taste had turned, or the theatre was in a more accessible spot. It before long proved too small for its audiences. A subscription was then set on foot in shares of £25 each, "the most magnificent Provincial Theatre in the Empire" was built in Queen Street at a cost of £18,500, a patent was secured by Act of Parliament, and in 1804 the rather chequered career of modern drama in Glasgow was begun.⁹

⁸ *Glasgow Mercury*, 11th May, 1780. The ladies of Glasgow presented Mrs. Bellamy with forty silk gowns to replenish her wardrobe.

⁹ Cleland's *Annals*, ii. 140. It is discouraging to know that the original subscribers to the Queen Street theatre lost all their money, and the theatre, patent, and scenery were in the end sold for £5000, just enough to cover the outstanding debts. For terms of feu, see *Burgh Records*, 17th Jan. 1803.

A very full account of the early drama in Scotland and of early dramatic ventures in Glasgow will be found in Strang's *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 307.

A facsimile of the signatures of subscribers to the Theatre Royal is given as an appendix to Frazer's *Making of Buchanan Street*.

CHAPTER XXVII

"THE TOBACCO LORDS"

DOWN to the middle of the eighteenth century, the years 1750 and 1760, very few "self-contained" houses had been built in Glasgow. The ancient manses of the Cathedral canons about the Bishop's Castle, Rottenrow, and the Drygate had mostly fallen on evil days,¹ and the wealthy merchants of the city lived, like the aristocracy of Edinburgh till a much later date, in the flats of tenements in the Goosedubs, Briggate, and the Saltmarket. Among the families who lived in these quarters were the Campbells of Blythswood and their relatives, the Douglasses of Mains: and the future Duchess of Douglas—a member of the latter family was one of the belles of Glasgow who led the dance at the assemblies in the great hall of the Merchants House in Briggate.

With the rise of wealth, however, came the desire for a more ceremonious style of living. Men who had travelled abroad, and had lived in London or Virginia or the West Indies, were no longer content with family meals in a bedroom and entertaining their guests in a tavern. Houses of more ambitious sort therefore began to be built along the Trongate westward. These mansions were of a style of architecture entirely different from that of the fifteenth and sixteenth century manses and other dwellings in the Townhead. Instead of crow-stepped

¹ "The townhead remained a quiet semi-rural place from the Reformation of 1560 till the erection of the first city gasworks in 1823, inhabited by carters, cow-feeders, and weavers, in strange contrast to the ever-changing, commercial lower town."—Lugton's *Old Ludgings of Glasgow*, p. 11.

gables and dormer windows, they had entablatures, urns, and balustraded roofs.² According to Dr. J. O. Mitchell there were fifteen of these first rank Georgian mansions built between 1711 and 1780. Of that number only two are still standing in the twentieth century, the mansion of Allan Dreghorn of Ruchill, behind a furniture store in Clyde Street, and that of William Cunningham of Lainshaw, the tobacco magnate, embedded in the Royal Exchange.

The first, and for fifty years the finest, of these new houses was the Shawfield Mansion, already referred to, built by Daniel Campbell of Shawfield at the west end of Trongate in 1711. For more than forty years that mansion remained without a rival. About 1753, however, Provost Murdoch—he who accompanied his brother-in-law, Provost Andrew Cochrane, to London to recover the sum in which the city had been mulcted by the Jacobite army in 1745—built the mansion which stood opposite—at the east corner of Stockwell Street—till the end of the nineteenth century, and was for long the Buck's Head Inn. And next to it Colin Dunlop, Provost a few years later, built the substantial house which, with its tympanum front, formed a feature of the Trongate till well into the twentieth century.³

The extension of the city westward brought about the demolition of an ancient landmark. Of Glasgow's eight main "ports" or gateways which existed in 1574—the Stablegreen Port, the Gallowgate Port, the Trongate or West Port, the South or Water Port, the Rottenrow Port, the Greyfriars Port, the Drygate Port, and the Port beside the Castlegate⁴—the West Port had already been removed from the neighbourhood of the Tron to the head of the Stockwell. In 1751 it was ordered to be demolished altogether.⁵

² See Swan's *Views* and Stewart's *Views and Notices*.

³ *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 43 note.

⁴ *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 11.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 22nd Jan.

The developments which followed, immediately to the westward, were owed to the civic aristocracy, whose fortunes were made out of the wonderful trade with Virginia, and who came to be known as the "tobacco lords." Of these some of the most notable individuals were the members of the Buchanan family. Their ancestor was George Buchanan, younger son of the laird of Gartacharan, near Drymen, who, to push his fortunes, came to Glasgow in the "killing times," fought for the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge, and for a time had a price set upon his head. After the Revolution he appears as a prosperous maltster, visitor of the Maltmen, and deacon-convener of the Trades' House. His four sons all prospered. They were the founders of the Buchanan Society in 1725—George Buchanan of The Moss and Auchentoshan, Andrew Buchanan of Drumpellier, Archibald Buchanan of Silverbanks or Auchentorlie, and Neil Buchanan of Hillington in Renfrewshire, M.P. for the Glasgow burghs. Of these the eldest was a maltman like his father, city treasurer in 1726, and a bailie in 1732, 1735, and 1738. He built himself a fine mansion on the north side of the Westergate, now Argyle Street—on the site occupied later by Messrs. Fraser & Son's warehouse—and he died, a wealthy merchant, in 1773.⁶ His son Andrew, again, born in 1725, built another mansion a little farther west, and on the four acres of land behind it planned the modern Buchanan Street. He was ruined and his plans were interrupted by the American War of Independence, but these were carried out by the trustees of his estate, one of whom was the celebrated Robin Carrick of the Ship Bank. The first house in the street, built about 1777, stood a little north of the site of the present Arcade, and was that occupied for many years by John Gordon of Aikenhead. The next was that of his brother Alexander—"Picture Gordon"—a fine mansion facing the site of the modern Gordon

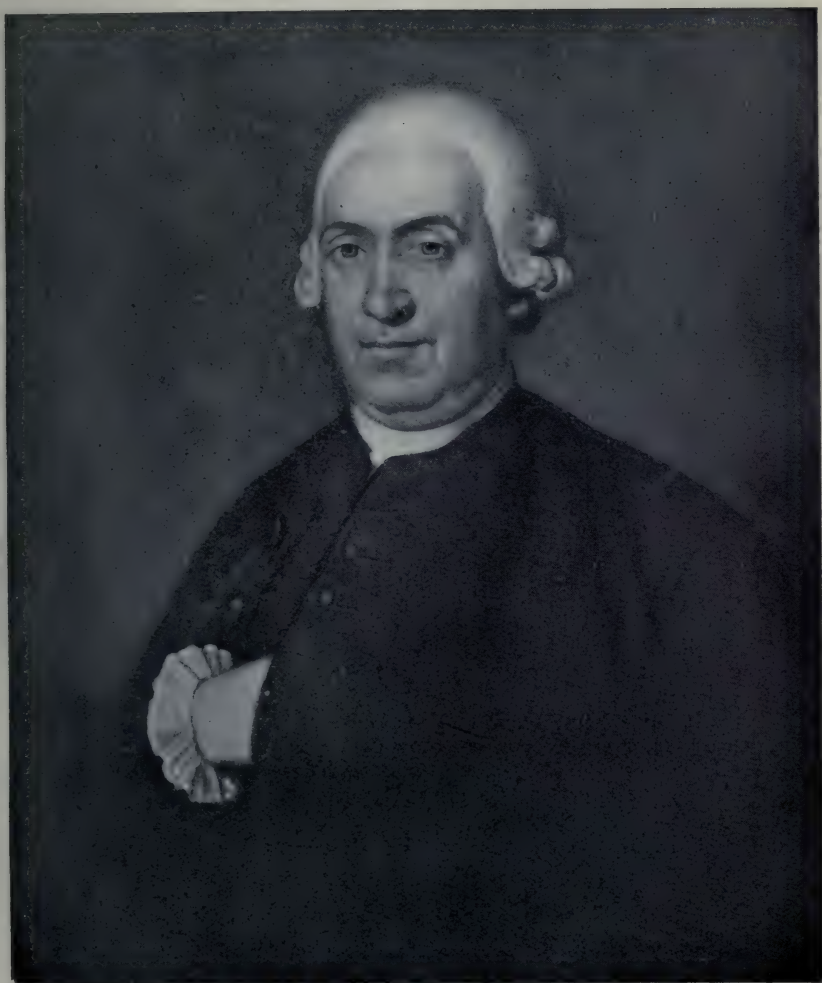
⁶ *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. 3. *The Old Country Houses of the Glasgow Gentry*, p. 186.

Street, which was the residence later of Henry Monteith of Carstairs.⁷

Meanwhile the second of the four brothers, Andrew of Drumpellier, born in 1690, had been among the first to take advantage of the opening Virginia trade. While still comparatively young he had five vessels at sea in that business. The double profits of the outward and inward trade enabled him, like others of his neighbours, to amass a large fortune in a few years. He was chosen Dean of Guild in 1728 and Provost in 1740 and 1741. It was he who in the former year was empowered to borrow £3000 from the Royal Bank for the purchase of meal to feed the poor of the city. When the Jacobite army invaded Glasgow in 1745, and its quarter-master, Hay, demanded £500 from him with the threat that, if he refused, his house would be plundered, his reply was, "Plunder away: I wont pay a single farthing!" Having purchased the country estate of Drumpellier, he proposed, like his friends Provost Murdoch and Colin Dunlop, to build a handsome city residence for himself, and to that end purchased a number of small properties, malt-kilns, and vegetable gardens extending from the Westergate to the Back Cow Loan. He cleared away the barns, byres, and malt-kilns on the ground, laid out a roadway, which he named Virginia Street, northward from the Westergate, and proceeded to sell plots for the building of mansion houses. The first of these plots, on the east side of the street, he disposed of in 1753 to his brother, Archibald Buchanan of Silverbanks or Auchentorlie, who built on it a handsome mansion with a short double stair in front in the style of the time.⁸ Five years later the plot to the south of this, at the corner of the street, was acquired by the Highland Club, which built on

⁷ Frazer's *Making of Buchanan Street*, p. 41.

⁸ Eleven years later the Silverbanks mansion was purchased by Sir Walter Maxwell of Pollok and the partners of the Thistle Bank, which occupied it for eighty years. On its site was afterwards built the ill-fated City of Glasgow Bank.—*Glasghu Facies*, ii. 1019.



ALEXANDER SPEIRS OF ELDERSLIE, 1714-1782.
Reproduced by permission from the portrait in the Merchants
House of Glasgow.

the spot the famous Black Bull Inn. But before Andrew Buchanan could bring his plans to fruition, death stilled his ambitions and he was laid in the Ramshorn kirkyard in 1759. The traffic of modern Ingram Street rumbles over the stout old Provost's dust.⁹

While Andrew Buchanan's elder son James inherited Drumpellier and was twice elected Provost of Glasgow—from his facial peculiarities he was known as "Provost Cheeks"—the younger son, George, became owner of the Glasgow property. Carrying out his father's plans he built on the northern end of his ground, next the Back Cow Loan, a handsome residence which eclipsed even its neighbour, the Shawfield Mansion, and was certainly the grandest house yet built by a Glasgow tobacco lord. The Virginia Mansion, as it was called, was indeed a splendid residence, with a gateway about the line of the present Wilson Street, porters' lodges on each side, and vineries and peach-houses against its garden walls. Already, before he was thirty, its owner had purchased the estate of Windyedge in Old Monkland, east of Glasgow, had laid out the grounds there with great taste, and had given it the name of Mount Vernon—which it still bears—in honour of his friend, George Washington, whose estate of that name neighboured his own in Virginia. He did not live long, however, to enjoy his great possessions. In July, 1762, he was carried from the Virginia Mansion to the family burial-place in the Ramshorn kirkyard, a few hundred yards away.

Meanwhile building plots in Virginia Street had been sold to other two of the great tobacco traders, John Bowman of Ashgrove, afterwards Provost of Glasgow, and Alexander Speirs, afterwards of Elderslie. The latter was an incomer from Edinburgh who had been attracted to the western city by the prospect of fortune in the Virginia trade. He purchased

⁹ *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, pp. 4, 6, 12, 15, 17. *Glasgow Past and Present*, p. 517.

plots of ground on each side of Virginia Street, just outside the gates of the Virginia Mansion, built himself a house on the western side, and proceeded to ally himself with the merchant aristocracy of the city by marrying Mary, daughter of Archibald Buchanan of Auchentorlie. The lady's mother was a daughter of Provost Murdoch and niece of Provost Andrew Buchanan of Drumpellier and Neil Buchanan of Hillington, M.P. for the Glasgow burghs.¹⁰

Alexander Speirs was one of the four young men, who started at one time in business, to whose talents and spirit Provost Cochrane attributed the sudden rise of Glasgow to trading opulence. The four, he said, had not £10,000 among them when they began. They were William Cuninghame, afterwards of Lainshaw, Alexander Speirs of Elderslie, John Glassford of Dougalston, and James Ritchie of Busby.¹ Of the four, Speirs is the only one whose descendant retains his position and possessions at the present day.² He prospered rapidly, was one of the founders of the Glasgow Arms Bank in 1750, and was the greatest of all the importers of tobacco. Of 90,000 hogsheads imported into Britain in 1772, 49,000 were imported by the merchants of Glasgow. Of these, Alexander Speirs & Co. imported 6035 hogsheads and John Glassford & Co. 4506.³ This business was conducted in a style befitting its importance. Among its chief customers were the Farmers-General of France, who on one occasion at anyrate gave a single order for six thousand hogsheads. The orders of the Farmers-General were transmitted through Forbes's Bank, and Sir

¹⁰ *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, pp. 20 and 22. *Glasghu Facies*, ii. 1030.

¹ Sir John Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, appendix, quoted by Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 42.

² Many of the personal possessions of the old tobacco lord, including his snuff-box and his tall gold-headed malacca cane, are preserved by his great-great-grandson, Mr. A. A. Hagart Speirs of Elderslie, at Houston House, his seat in Renfrewshire.

³ *Glasgow Past and Present*, p. 521.

Charles Forbes describes how he and his partner, Mr. Herries, on one occasion journeyed from Edinburgh to Glasgow to adjust certain purchases. "As we went on a very agreeable errand," he says, "we were received with open arms, and entertained in the most sumptuous manner by the merchants during the time that we remained there."⁴ For the purpose of such entertainments a handsome house was necessary. Accordingly in 1770 Speirs purchased the fine Virginia Mansion from the trustees of the late George Buchanan, of whom he was himself one. At the same time, with fortune on a rising tide, he set about the creation of a country estate. He bought a goodly number of the little properties of the bonnet lairds of Govan, and acquired the estate of Elderslie, the reputed birthplace of the Scottish patriot, Sir William Wallace, from the last of that family, Helen Wallace, wife of Archibald Campbell of Succoth and Garscube, with other lands—altogether some 10,000 acres—in Renfrewshire. He had the whole consolidated into a barony under the name of Elderslie, holding of the Crown, and on the historic King's Inch, by the river side, built a stately mansion, to be known as Elderslie House. The mansion took five years to build, and late in 1782 Speirs established himself there with his family. Alas, before the year closed he was dead, but he had the satisfaction of knowing that he had accomplished his ambition and had founded a territorial house.⁵

Rivalling Alexander Speirs in importance among the great tobacco traders was John Glassford of Whitehill and Dougalston. A native of Paisley, where his father was a merchant and magistrate, Glassford attained prosperity in the city while still a young man. In 1739, while only twenty-four, he rode to London in company with Andrew Thomson of Faskine, afterwards founder of the bank bearing his name. They rode their own

⁴ *Memoirs of a Banking House*, p. 44.

⁵ *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. 21. Mitchell's *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 315. The portraits of Alexander Speirs and his wife hang in the Merchants House.

horses, and were evidently men of means.⁶ Some half-dozen years later, after the Jacobite rebellion, Glassford acquired Whitehill, part of the old Easter Craigs of Glasgow, and now embodied in Dennistoun. He enclosed the whole thirty acres with a wall, built a country mansion, and laid out the place with gardens, conservatories, and ornamental walks. For twelve years he resided there, dispensing princely hospitality and driving daily to and from the city in a coach and four. But in 1759 he purchased, for 1700 guineas, the famous Shawfield Mansion in Trongate from the second William Macdowall of Castle Semple, son of the West Indian magnate. He then sold Whitehill to another Virginia merchant, John Wallace of Neilstonside and Cessnock, a descendant of the family which gave Scotland its patriot hero. From that time till his death in 1783 Glassford lived partly in the Shawfield Mansion and partly at the beautiful estate of Dougalston, which he also acquired, near Bardowie Loch, a few miles north of the city. Like Alexander Speirs he was early allied by marriage with the ruling caste in Glasgow, his sister Rebecca being the wife of Archibald Ingram, founder of the printwork industry, and Provost of the city in 1762. But his own matrimonial alliances were more ambitious still. Of his first wife nothing is known; his second marriage was with Anne, second daughter of Sir John Nisbet, Bart., of Dean, now part of Edinburgh, and his third wife was Lady Margaret Mackenzie, daughter of the last Earl of Cromarty. He carried on business on a great scale, had twenty-five ships with their cargoes on the sea at once, and turned over annually more than half a million sterling.⁷ In addition he was concerned in

⁶ The difficulties of their journey are detailed in Dugald Bannatyne's notebook, quoted in Pagan's *Glasgow in 1847*, and in Cleland's *Statistical Tables*, 1832, p. 156.

⁷ Tobias Smollett, quoted in *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 39. Glassford's office, in the third storey of the town's tenement at the corner of Gallowgate and High Street, cost him £13 per annum. The floor below was rented by Provost Andrew Cochrane at £14.—*Burgh Records*, 12th Nov. 1747.

various local enterprises. He was a chief partner in the Glasgow Tanwork Company, perhaps the largest in Europe in its time. He was one of the first partners in the Glasgow Arms Bank, started in 1750. He was principal partner in the original cudbear factory, which carried on the rather odorous business of dye-making from certain Highland lichens. With his brother-in-law, Provost Ingram, he had a share in the Printfield at Pollokshaws. And he was a leading partner in the aristocratic Thistle Bank, whose business lay largely among the rich West Indian merchants. It was largely, also, his support, with that of one or two other wealthy merchants, which enabled the Foulis brothers to carry on their famous Academy of the Fine Arts. By Tobias Smollett, who as a surgeon's apprentice must often have looked with awe on the great man pacing the plainstones, he is commemorated in the pages of *Humphry Clinker*. He died at the age of sixty-eight in the Shawfield Mansion, and lies, along with his second and third wives and several of his descendants, in the Ramshorn churchyard, close behind the railings in Ingram Street.⁸

Nine years after John Glassford's death, his trustees sold the Shawfield Mansion for £9850 to William Horn, a builder, who demolished the house, and over its site, and through the great garden behind, formed the thoroughfare now known as Glassford Street.⁹ A street branching from it long bore the name of Garthland Street, from the estate of the Macdowalls, once the owners of the site. This has lately been changed to Garth Street.

Of different fate from the Shawfield Mansion and the Virginia Mansion, the splendid dwelling built by another of these great tobacco lords still remains to testify to the wealth

⁸ *Glasghu Facies*, pp. 757, 956. *Glasgow Past and Present*. Mitchell, *Old Glasgow Essays*, pp. 80, 122. *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. 215. *Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry*. *Burgh Records*, 12th Nov. 1747.

⁹ *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 11. Mitchell, p. 22.

and taste of that time. William Cuninghame was another of Provost Cochrane's "four young men." When the American War of Independence broke out he was a junior partner in the firm which held the largest stock of tobacco in the United Kingdom. The average cost of their great stock had been threepence per pound. Immediately upon the declaration of independence by America the price rose to sixpence. Thereupon seeing they had doubled their capital, the partners of the firm held a meeting, and resolved to take advantage of the opportunity and effect an immediate sale. The British forces in America, it was thought, must shortly suppress the rebellion, whereupon plentiful supplies of tobacco would again become available, and the price would fall to its previous level. But Mr. Cuninghame was of a different opinion. He took over the whole stock as his personal property, and was able to give the other partners of the firm security for the amount of his purchase. His judgment proved to be correct. In consequence of the misfortunes to the British armies tobacco continued to rise in price till it reached the astonishing figure of three shillings and sixpence per pound. By that time Cuninghame had sold his entire stock at an enormous profit, and had realized a very handsome fortune. With this he bought the fine estate of Lainshaw in Ayrshire, and proceeded to build himself a splendid residence in Glasgow. On the west side of the Cow Loan, which is now Queen Street, and facing the Back Cow Loan, now Ingram Street, stood at that time a cow-feeder's thatched steading with byre and midden, the property of one Neilson, a "land labourer in Garioch," near Maryhill. Here Cuninghame saw possibilities, as Sir Walter Scott did later in the Tweedside farm of Clartyhole. He purchased the steading, and on its site in 1778 raised one of the finest houses of its time in the West of Scotland—at a cost, it is said, of £10,000.

After several changes of ownership this mansion still stands. At Cuninghame's death in 1789 it was bought by the great

firm of William Stirling & Sons, which used one of the wings as an office, while the main building was occupied by successive members of the family. In 1817 the house was purchased by the Royal Bank, which built a double stair in front and installed its tellers in the drawing-room. Ten years later, the old coffee-room at the Cross having become too small for their meeting-place, an association of merchants, with James Ewing of Strathleven at its head, acquired the house and built round it, to the plans of the architect Hamilton, the present handsome Royal Exchange. The old Lainshaw mansion still stands behind the colonnaded Queen Street front, its rooms being mostly occupied as shipbroking and insurance offices.¹⁰

These were the most notable of the Glasgow merchants who realized fortunes out of the trade with the American colonies, who trod the plainstanes at the Cross in scarlet cloaks and three-cornered hats, and, known as "tobacco lords," formed a civic aristocracy of hauteur and exclusiveness that have not been forgotten at the present day.¹ The trade lasted for fifty years, and came to an end with the declaration of independence by the United States. Upon that event the estates owned by many British subjects in America were confiscated, and the owners were ruined. Among those who suffered in this way was the father of the famous Mrs. Grant of Laggan, authoress of *Letters from the Mountains*, *Memoirs of an American Lady*, and the well-known song, "O where, tell me where." Captain McVicar was a resident in the Goosedubs, then a fashionable quarter of the city, where his daughter was born. Shortly afterwards he was ordered with his regiment to America, where he took part in the conquest of Canada. Some years later he resigned his commission, took up his allotment of 2000 acres in

¹⁰ *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. 193. Alison's *Anecdote*, p. 127. Other sites proposed for the new Exchange were between Virginia and Miller Streets in Argyle Street, and at the head of Glassford Street, and the Town Council supported the Argyle Street location.—*Burgh Records*, 25th May, 1827.

¹ *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 40.

Vermont, and acquired the similar allotment of a brother officer. In 1768 he was compelled by ill-health to return to Scotland, and on the outbreak of the revolutionary war was deprived of his estate and reduced to depend on an appointment as barrack-master at Fort Augustus.

Another family which suffered in similar fashion was that of Hugh Wyllie, who died suddenly after his election to the Lord Provostship in 1781. His property was in America ; no remittances came home after his death, and the Town Council granted his widow £50 per annum, to be repaid when remittances were received.²

Soon after the declaration of independence by America the " tobacco lords " ceased to lead the social life of the city, and the scarlet cloaks gradually disappeared from the plainstanes of the Trongate.

² *Burgh Records*, 28th Nov. 1782.



A WEST INDIA MERCHANT :
OLD GLASGOW COSTUME.

CHAPTER XXVIII

BORROWING AND BRIDGE BUILDING

NOTHING could be more significant of the change that was taking place in the character of the country in the middle of the eighteenth century than the removal of the ancient "ports" or gateways of Glasgow. These ports had served as a means of protection in a ruder and more hazardous age, but they had come to be regarded as a mere obstruction to traffic. The west port in Trongate, at the head of the Stockwellgate, was, as already mentioned, demolished in 1751 to allow of the building line on the south side of the street being continued westward without interruption.¹ And the Gallowgate port suffered the same fate three years later when the Town Council was arranging to sell Little St. Mungo's graveyard, which lay on the north side just beyond it, for building purposes.² The burial-ground was presently disposed of to Robert Tennent, gardener and vintner, for a yearly ground annual of five pounds sterling, with the condition that he should build upon it "a commodious and convenient inn three storeys high." At the same time he was allowed to demolish the old gateway and take the stones for his own use on the understanding that he paid £10 for the stones and cleared the rubbish from the ground.³

The inn thus built was the famous Saracen's Head, which was to be the chief hostelry of Glasgow for the greater part of a century, and to entertain such noted guests as Dr. Samuel

¹ *Burgh Records*, 22nd Jan.

² *Ibid.* 21st Jan. 1754.

³ *Ibid.* 22nd Nov. 1754.

Johnson, Robert Burns, and William Wordsworth.⁴ There it was that the Lords of Justiciary held their levees and gave their dinners, and that the sporting Duke of Hamilton put up when he came to Glasgow for the chances of a main at the cockpit.⁵

At the same time, inspired perhaps by the enterprise of General Wade, the Town Council spent considerable sums in road and bridge making. It contributed £1000 to the making of the road by Kirk of Shotts to Edinburgh, £900 on the construction of the road to Renfrew, and £150 on the road to Inchbelly Bridge, near Kirkintilloch; while it assigned an unnamed sum for a bridge at Inchinnan, and subscribed £15 for the building of the bridge over the Tweed at Kelso and "fifteen guineas of gold" for a bridge over the Kelvin at Garscube Mill.⁶ It also between 1760 and 1768 subscribed various sums for the building of bridges at such widely scattered places as Elvanfoot, Dunbarton, Coldstream, and Forteviot. These sums were all borrowed, mostly from the banks, which provided all too easy means for running into debt.

Other large sums were borrowed light-heartedly in the same way—£380 for the payment of cess in 1754, and £1500 for the support of the poor during a time of scarcity in 1757, while a

⁴ The inn gave its name to Saracen Street, at hand, and that in turn to the Saracen Foundry, which carried the name at a later day to the far northern outskirts of the city. The inn was finally demolished in 1905. There is a tradition that Tennent was allowed to use the stones of the Bishop's Castle for the building of his inn, and that he was responsible for the removal of that ancient structure. His activities, however, seem to have been confined to the demolition of the gateway of the palace, from which he removed Bishop Dunbar's coat of arms to a tenement he was then erecting in High Street. The castle at anyrate was still standing in 1782 when the Town Council resolved to apply for a grant of the ruins (Senex, *Old Glasgow*, 241; *Burgh Records*, 27th March, 1782).

⁵ Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 161.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 29th March and 10th Dec. 1754; 2nd Mar. 1755; 6th May, 14th July and 23rd Aug. 1756; 5th June, 1758. The Bakers' Incorporation itself undertook to make the road from St. Enoch's Burn to Partick Bridge, where its own mill stood upon the Kelvin.—8th Oct. 1755.

credit of £1000 was opened with the Glasgow Arms Bank for general purposes in 1754. When the time came for repaying the bank loans in 1758, the Town Council went farther afield, and borrowed £2000 in London, then in the following year gaily borrowed other £1500 "to pay debts."⁷

But the city's most formidable effort in bridge building was yet to come. If the level of water in the river was raised by means of locks, as Smeaton proposed, it was obvious that the fords immediately above and below the ancient bridge at Glasgow would become too deep for passage, while the bridge itself was so high and narrow, and had also become so frail, that horse and carriage traffic could not be allowed upon it. In this dilemma the "gentlemen of Renfrewshire" were invited to consult with the magistrates, and it was decided that, instead of widening and strengthening Bishop Rae's old bridge, a new bridge should be built farther down the river, at the Broomielaw. Accordingly in the Act of Parliament authorising the magistrates to make locks and improve the river on Smeaton's plan, authority was also secured for the building of that bridge. As Smeaton's plan was not proceeded with, the need for the new bridge became less urgent, and it was not till 1772 that the first Jamaica Bridge was actually built. It was thirty feet wide and took its name, like the street at the foot of which it was built, from our greatest West Indian island colony.⁸

The building of this bridge may be said to have brought to an end the history of Rutherglen as a seaport. Till this took

⁷ *Ibid.* under dates.

⁸ *Ibid.* 15th Dec. 1757; 22nd Dec. 1758; 9th Jan. 1759; 20th April, 1768. The new bridge was built by "John Adam, mason in Glasgow," evidently a man of enterprise, for at the same time he was building several houses on the east side of Jamaica Street (*ibid.* 29th June, 16th Aug. 1768). Carting on the old bridge was stopped as dangerous in 1765, an Act of Parliament, which cost £1000, for stopping the river fords, was secured in 1768; and the widening of the bridge, along with the rebuilding of the southern arch, was proceeded with in 1774 and 1776.

place there were sometimes more vessels lying at the harbour of Rutherglen than at the Broomielaw.⁹ The laying of the foundation stone of the bridge was a great occasion in Glasgow, marked by a procession which started from the Saracen's Head Inn in Gallowgate.¹⁰

The city was then on the high tide of the prosperity derived from the great tobacco trade, but it felt compelled by its growing expenses to make the most of every source of revenue. It secured from the Government another renewal for thirty-eight years of the right to levy twopence Scots (one-sixth of a penny sterling) on every pint of ale consumed within its jurisdiction, and the value of that duty may be gathered from the fact that the expenses of Provost Murdoch in going to London to secure renewal of the grant amounted to no less than £412 sterling. A further sum of £13 7s. was paid to the Shuttlefield factory for 44½ yards white linen at 6s. per yard, sent as a gift by the town to Mr. West, secretary to the Treasury, for his services in the transaction.¹ Still another sum of money was secured by the sale at auction of all the feu-duties payable to the town of less than forty shillings sterling annual value.²

This latter transaction no doubt also relieved the town of a good deal of troublesome factorage and book-keeping. A town chamberlain or accountant had just then been appointed, at a salary of £100 per annum, to take charge of the Town Council's revenues, and the sale of the smaller feu-duties seems to have been one of his first acts on taking office.³

⁹ *Glasgow Past and Present*, iii. 820.

¹⁰ Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 161.

¹ *Burgh Records*, 8th April, 1755. The extension of the grant was secured well beforehand, for the previous grant was still in force till 1763. Thirty years later the duties were valued at £2340 sterling per annum (*ibid.* 13th Nov. 1794).

² *Ibid.* 1st Oct. 1756.

³ *Ibid.* 29th April, 18th June, 1755; 1st Oct. 1756.

There were signs at the same time that others than the chamberlain were beginning to find the details of the town's affairs personally irksome. From time to time individuals chosen to be members of the Town Council refused to act. As those who did so were merchants (among them was Alexander Speirs, the greatest of the "tobacco lords"), and apparently able and willing to pay a considerable fine, it may be taken that they found their own business considerably more congenial and engrossing than that of attending to public affairs. In each case they were made to pay the handsome penalty of £20 sterling.⁴

This somewhat drastic treatment was the result of a change made a few years previously in the "sett" or method of constituting the Town Council. In the preface to the new regulations it was stated that complaints had been made of the tendency of the older arrangements to continue the government of the city in a particular group of persons longer than might be for the public interest; also that there was sometimes difficulty in getting the more creditable burgesses to accept office. The new regulations made an effort to remedy these drawbacks by providing that a certain number of councillors should retire each year, and be ineligible for re-election till three years afterwards, and they introduced fines for refusal to accept office. While the fine of an ordinary councillor was £20 sterling, that of a provost, dean of guild, deacon-convener, or treasurer was no less than £40.⁵ The Town Council still remained a close corporation, electing its own new members, as it had done since the middle of the fifteenth century, when a more democratic form of election had brought itself into disrepute.⁶

Not less drastic were some of the other ordinances of the

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 6th Jan. 1755; 4th Oct. 1756; 20th Jan. 1757; 19th Jan. 1768.

⁵ *Ibid.* 15th April, 1748.

⁶ See *supra*, p. 78.

city fathers at that time. After the opening of St. Andrew's Church in 1756 it was noticed that a number of seats, both in that and the other churches, remained unlet. They were not, however, unoccupied. By way of ending so discreditable a state of things, the Town Council ordered that the unlet seats should be nailed up. There must be no admission without due payment of rent.⁷

It is difficult to reconcile this action with the institution of the "compurgators," whose activities were still a feature of the city's life. These compurgators were a sort of vigilance committee who perambulated the town on Sundays during church service and in the evening. If any merrymaking, or music other than the singing of psalms, was heard in a house, it was instantly stopped; and if anyone was found enjoying a quiet stroll, he was ordered either to betake himself to church or to go home. The activities of these compurgators came to an end with the arrest of Peter Blackburn, ancestor of the Blackburns of Killearn. For walking on the Green on a Sunday Mr. Blackburn was thrown into the Tolbooth. Being a man of substance and spirit, however, he raised an action against his assailants, and finally won his case in the Court of Session. Compulsion in matters of Sunday observance had become out of date.

It cannot be forgotten that one other ramble on Glasgow Green at that time produced most amazing and far-reaching results. On a Sunday afternoon, while passing Arns Well, near the site of the Humane Society's house, James Watt conceived the idea of the separate condenser, that vital improvement of the steam-engine which was to change the whole aspect of the world.

With the embargo removed, the New Green became, on Sundays as well as other days, the favourite fashionable promenade of the citizens. The scene there, a few

⁷ *Burgh Records*, 3rd Oct. 1757.

years later, is described by John Mayne in his fine poem, "Glasgow":

Whae'er has dauner'd out at e'en,
And seen the sights that I ha'e seen,
For strappin' lasses, tight and clean,
May proudly tell
That, search the country, Glasgow Green
Will bear the bell.

There may ye find, in sweetness rare,
The blooming rose, the lily fair,
The winsome look, the gracefu' air,
The taste refined,
And a' that can the heart ensnare
In womankind.⁸

As a matter of fact the city fathers themselves had long ago abandoned the rather grim attitude towards the lighter side of life which had characterized their covenanting predecessors in the previous century. When, in 1758, it was proposed to build an Assembly Room adjoining the new Town Hall in Trongate, and the Town Council was approached to give its countenance and afford facilities to the scheme, it declared itself to be "willing to give all due encouragement to lawful and innocent diversions," and agreed to promote the enterprise.

The list of subscribers to this venture included the names of Alexander Speirs, Archibald Ingram, Colin Dunlop, Allan Dreghorn, and nearly a dozen others of the best-known merchants of the city, and their prosposal was to build a public Assembly Room "for the beauty, ornament, and advantage of

⁸ *The Glasgow Poets*, p. 84. John Strang in *Glasgow and its Clubs* (p. 168) describes how, in the end of the eighteenth century, the Green was much frequented as a fashionable promenade. "The verdure of the public park," he says, "and the foliage of the elm and beech, were then in all their pristine beauty, and pedestrians in summer could enjoy a promenade almost round the whole park beneath the canopy of a wide-spreading double row of trees." Another fashionable lounge was the north side of Trongate, as far west as Queen Street.

the town"—as the third floor of a tenement of houses which the Town Council intended to erect. The plans for the building had been made by Allan Dreghorn, and it may be suspected that that enterprising wright and builder, not without an eye to business, was the originator of the project.⁹ The Assembly Room was duly completed, and no doubt was the scene of many a gay gathering during the next twenty years. But the fact that the guests had to climb to a third floor to reach it probably put it out of favour when more convenient rooms became available. In 1777 the directors decided to sell it, and in 1783 it was disposed of to the syndicate which erected the famous Tontine Exchange adjoining.¹⁰

⁹ *Burgh Records*, 5th June, 1758.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 16th May, 1777; 24th Sept. 1783. Senex says he attended the last dancing assembly held in the large hall of the Merchants House before the Assembly Rooms at the Tontine were erected in 1782. He "was carried there through the Bridgegate in a neatly cushioned sedan chair, by two chairmen, the fare of which was sixpence, certainly as comfortable a conveyance as either our modern cabs or omnibuses."—*Old Glasgow*, p. 88. See also *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 185 note.

CHAPTER XXIX

A TYPICAL GLASGOW FAMILY

THE change of mind towards a more liberal view of life and more generous habit of living which became obvious in the city after the middle of the eighteenth century was a result not only of the tide of wealth which came flowing there from overseas, and the close communication with continental countries brought about by the tobacco trade, but of the closer relations with London which had gradually grown up since the Union. Already Glasgow business men were finding their way to the south, and establishing themselves in leading positions in the English capital.

Outstanding among these pioneers was a member of a family whose story strikingly illustrates the rising fortunes of that time. The Oswalds were of Orcadian descent, having migrated from Kirkwall to Wick, where their representative was a bailie in the seventeenth century. The bailie had two sons—James Oswald, Episcopal minister of Watten in Caithness, and George, Presbyterian minister of Dunnet in the same county. Each of these ministers, again, had two sons. The sons of the Episcopal minister, Richard and Alexander Oswald, came to Glasgow in time to profit by the development of the tobacco trade. They evidently also carried on a large business as wine merchants, for they appear frequently in the city records in receipt of payments for wine supplied for Communion in the city churches, as well as for gifts to “the town’s friends” and

"treating of nobility." ¹ Richard was the more active of the brothers, and very soon took a leading part in industries outside the partnership. In 1741 he was a partner in the rope factory at Port-Glasgow which undertook, for certain concessions, to perform such public services as the repair of the quay and the dredging of the harbour ²; and three years later, having become a partner in the bottle-work at the Broomielaw, he proceeded to put new energy into the business and extend the size of the factory.³ The brothers were suspected of Jacobite leanings, on account of their Episcopal connection, and, probably for that reason, Richard was employed as one of the six commissioners to treat with Hay, Prince Charles Edward's emissary, regarding the demands made upon the city in 1745. Alexander was one of the "sea adventurers" mentioned by McUre in his *History* in 1736, and his adventures were not confined entirely to the matters of peaceful trade.

The brothers soon became men of means. To accommodate their stocks, as well as for a town residence, in 1742, they built in the Stockwellgate, where the railway crosses now, a large four-storey tenement and offices, with a courtyard surrounded by brew-house, stabling, vaults, sheds, and stores to hold seven hundred hogsheads of tobacco. In 1750 they took a leading part in promoting the erection of the English Episcopal church which still stands near the western entrance to Glasgow Green. Then in 1751, following the fashion of their time, they acquired the estate of Scotstoun, to the west of Partick, from the creditors of John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, and eight years later the adjoining lands of Balshagray, which had been the property

¹ *Burgh Records*, 6th June, 1746. The "nobility" were treated to "claret wine" at 26s. sterling per dozen. On an occasion like the celebration of the King's birthnight, in October 1738, when the Town Councillors and their friends managed to put away seventeen and a half dozen "claret wine" and one dozen white wine, they were content with a less expensive vintage. Richard Oswald's charge was £18 18s. sterling for the consignment.

² *Ibid.* 30th June, 1741.

³ *Ibid.* 17th Jan. 1744.

of the unfortunate Walter Gibson in the previous century.⁴ It was no doubt for their own convenience of access that they undertook to build a bridge over the Hay Burn there, towards the expense of which the Town Council agreed to contribute £5.⁵

The two brothers died at Scotstoun—Alexander in 1763 and Richard in 1766. For some years they had retired from active business life and devoted themselves to acts of friendship, generosity, and hospitality.⁶

Meanwhile their cousins, the two sons of the Presbyterian minister of Dunnet, had also migrated south. Of these two, Richard was to be the most successful of the family, and to play an important part in the great events of his time. The cause of his moving south was slight enough. He was an applicant for the mastership of the parish school in Thurso, the salary attached being £100 Scots (£8 6s. 8d. sterling). His application was unsuccessful and he took the disappointment so much to heart that he left the town, and never returned to it.⁷ According to Jupiter Carlyle he got his first capital, several thousand pounds, from his share in a rich prize captured by a privateer, the fitting out of which was one of the "sea adventures" of his Glasgow cousins. He also came into control of means by marriage with the heiress of great estates in America and the West Indies. In 1745 he was one of those who applied to the Town Council for ground on the New Green, east of the mouth of the Molendinar, for the building of a woollen factory, an encroachment which excited so much popular disfavour that it was abandoned.

Whether or not that rebuff was the reason, Richard Oswald presently betook himself to London. There he seems to have attained a position of outstanding influence in quite a short

⁴ Crawford's *Renfrewshire*, p. 347.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 26th July, 1752.

⁶ *Glasgow Journal*, 27th June, 1763; 14th Aug. 1766.

⁷ Town and parish of Thurso, 1798.

space of time. The records of the Town Council in 1756 dilate upon "the many eminent services" done by him for the city, and in particular on his useful assistance in securing the passage through Parliament of the Bill for the erection of a lighthouse on the Little Cumbrae. For these services the city fathers presented him with a piece of plate with the Glasgow arms engraved on it—at a cost of £78 12s. 9d. sterling.⁸

The country was then at war with France and Spain in Europe and in Canada, and Oswald secured the appointment of Commissary of Provisions and Stores for the camp on Burham Downs, consisting of 25,000 men.⁹ This appointment led to others equally lucrative, and finally to his attaining the position of Chief Commissary of Supplies to the British army under the Duke of Brunswick. Out of those transactions, by the time peace was concluded in 1763, he had amassed an immense fortune.

Oswald was still, however, to serve his country in an even more notable way. In 1783 the nation had seen the futility of carrying on any longer the war with our colonies in America which had declared their independence, and the opinion found expression in the House of Commons. The Government did not, however, wish to appear openly in the attitude of suing for peace. In the dilemma the Ministry employed Oswald, who had been introduced to Shelburne by Adam Smith, to open negotiations privately. His business connections with America no doubt gave him special facilities for this approach. Accordingly he proceeded to Paris, where he met the commissioners of the United States, and succeeded in arranging with them the desired treaty of peace.¹⁰

Meanwhile, at the time when Richard Oswald was accumu-

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 16th June, 1756; 17th Jan. 1758.

⁹ *Glasgow Journal*, 19th April, 1756.

¹⁰ *Glasgow Journal*, 18th Nov. 1784. Senex, *Old Glasgow*, p. 30. *The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry*, p. 227.

lating a great fortune in London, a serious financial disaster had struck the West of Scotland. After a run of reckless finance and inflated credits, the Ayr Bank had closed its doors.¹ Its bankruptcy involved the ruin of a large number of the landed proprietors of Ayrshire, who were shareholders. In consequence of the disaster many considerable estates in the county were offered for sale. Availing himself of the opportunity Oswald made large purchases of lands. He was said to have invested over half a million sterling in this way, and to have had a rent-roll of £20,000. Among other possessions he acquired the estate of Auchencruive, near Ayr, which he made his chief residence. There he died in 1784—just a year after his crowning achievement, the negotiation of the treaty of peace with America.²

Oswald's widow, after her husband's death, removed to London, where she died. When her coffin was being carried northwards to be placed beside that of her husband at Auchencruive, the cortege had a curious encounter with Robert Burns. The poet described the circumstances in a letter to his friend Dr. Moore. After a wet day's riding he had taken up his quarters in the inn at Sanquhar. The January night was tempestuous—with icy snow and drift—and he had just settled down for a comfortable evening before the fire, when the funeral cortege of the great lady arrived. To accommodate the newcomers Burns had to turn out again in the wet, saddle his steed, and ride twelve miles further, to the next inn at New Cumnock. He was greatly enraged by the occurrence, which he took to be an invasion of the rights of the poor, honest man

¹ The chief shareholders of the Ayr Bank were the Dukes of Buccleuch and Queensberry and Mr. Douglas of Douglas, and it traded under the name of Douglas, Heron & Co. Its object was to encourage agriculture and manufactures, and it issued a large amount of paper money for this purpose. But in 1772, following the failure of some of its correspondents in London, the Bank of England refused to cash its notes, and it was forced to stop payment.

² *Glasgow Journal*, 11th Nov. 1784.

by the unfair prerogatives of wealth. He accordingly threw off one of his bitterest effusions. His "Ode, sacred to the memory of Mrs. Oswald of Auchencruive," is full of furious abuse, and indeed altogether unworthy of the poet. As his biographer says, "The ode illustrates Burns's habit of judging persons and things by any casual effect they might exercise on his feelings at a time when he was inclined to composition."

While Richard Oswald was making his mark in the great world, his brother, the second son of the minister of Dunnet, was attaining distinction in a different field. The Rev. James Oswald succeeded his father in that most northern parish of Scotland. He, however, married a daughter of David Smythe of Methven, and was presented to the church of that parish by his father-in-law. The presentation did not have the approval of the parishioners, and on one pretext and another the presbytery deferred Oswald's induction for two years. The General Assembly then took up the matter, called the presbytery to its bar to be reprimanded for disobedience, and appointed a commission to induct the new minister. The induction duly took place on 12th December, 1750, but the parishioners left the church and set up a congregation of Antiburghers.³

The Rev. James Oswald nevertheless did well, and became a doctor of divinity and Moderator of the General Assembly, while his two sons proceeded to Glasgow and carried on the prosperous family business. George, the elder of the two, inherited the estates of Scotstoun and Balshagray from his father's cousins, the original Richard and Alexander Oswald, who were both bachelors. He married his cousin Margaret Smythe, daughter of the laird of Methven,⁴ and he bought, as a town house, the original mansion built by Alexander Speirs on the west side of Virginia Street. He was one of the partners

³ *Scots Magazine*, 1750, pp. 549, 590.

⁴ *Glasgow Journal*, 26th Jan. 1764.

in the famous Ship Bank, and in recognition of his public services and cultured taste he was elected Rector of Glasgow University in 1797.⁵ His brother, Alexander Oswald, acquired the country estate of Shieldhall, below Govan on the Clyde, and among his many speculations purchased from the Town Council the remaining parts of the Old Green.⁶

When Richard Oswald of Auchencroive died in 1784, he left his great estates in Ayrshire—one of the finest possessions in the West of Scotland—to his nephew, George Oswald of Scotstoun, but by arrangement they were transferred to the latter's son, Richard Alexander Oswald, who opened another chapter in the family history by becoming Member of Parliament for the county. It was his wife, Louisa or Lucy Johnstone, on whom Burns, perhaps by way of amends for his diatribe on previous members of the family, composed his verses, "O wat ye wha's in yon town?" and wrote in ecstatic praise to his friend William Syme. The lady died of consumption at Lisbon two years after the death of Burns himself. Her husband did not marry again, and, as they had no children, the great estates passed to his cousin James, eldest son of Alexander Oswald of Shieldhall.

The great inheritance came to James Oswald just in time. Among various enterprises he had devoted himself to developing the property in the Old Green which had been acquired by his father. He opened a new access to it by Maxwell Street, and on the line of the spinning sheds of the old rope-work he formed East Howard Street, which he named in honour of the philanthropist, John Howard. It was the time, however, of the rise of the great cotton industry, and Oswald, having ventured on a speculation in cotton on a great scale, lost all his means. It was after this disaster that he inherited Auchencroive and the

⁵ *Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry*, p. 235.

⁶ *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. 196. Senex, *Old Glasgow*, p. 28. *Burgh Records*, 12th and 26th Feb. 1802.

other Ayrshire estates.⁷ In the period of serious distress which followed the Napoleonic wars, the time of Radical riots and Chartist demonstrations, he devoted himself to politics. He took a keen interest in the movement for Reform, and presided at the great meeting in favour of that movement which was held on Glasgow Green. Following the success of the movement in 1832, he represented Glasgow in the first Reform Parliament and in four others, and after his death in 1853 his friends and admirers erected a statue to his memory, which was first set up at Charing Cross and now stands in George Square.

⁷ Senex, *Old Glasgow*, p. 30.

CHAPTER XXX

PROSPEROUS YEARS

THE twenty years that preceded the break-away of the American colonies were perhaps the happiest and most prosperous that Glasgow ever saw. The stern and arid asceticism of Covenanting times had been largely modified. Men of original thought, and even of genius, like Professor John Anderson, founder of Anderson's College, and Professor Adam Smith, author of "The Wealth of Nations," occupied the chairs of the University, and mellowed the social atmosphere with their sentiments. The working classes were frugal and easily able to live upon their earnings, and enterprises of almost any kind could be undertaken with full assurance of success. At that time, the average wage of a Glasgow mechanic was seven shillings per week, and though the city was by no means a cheap place to live in, this wage was "more than sufficient to supply him liberally, and he must therefore save money." ¹

Even the great merchants and tobacco lords were simple in their taste at table, to judge from the accounts of feasts given in Strang's *Glasgow and its Clubs*. Their chief extravagance lay in the matter of liquid refreshment. The tavern expenses of the Council committee which visited the dock, town, and harbour of Port-Glasgow in 1761, ran to £15 6s., and the bill

¹ Gibson, *History*, p. 201. Oatmeal then cost 11d. per peck (8 lb. of 22½ oz.), beef from 4d. to 7d., butter 6d. to 9d., cheese 2d. to 6d. per lb. of 22½ oz. Milk was 1d. to 1½d. per English quart, ale 10d. to 1s. 4d. per Scots gallon (four English), and coal 2s. 8d. per cart of 9 cwt. Rents were from 30s. per annum upwards.—*Ibid.* pp. 195-199.

for a dinner for the three Glasgow magistrates and a guest or two at Renfrew, in connection with the election in 1762, was £9 5s. 2d. sterling.² With money at three times its present value, these were fairly substantial amounts, which show that the city fathers knew how to do themselves well.

Out-of-door recreation also was not forgotten. Of a summer evening the New Green by the pleasant riverside had its groups of golfers moving in twos and fours along the greensward. In 1760, they craved permission to make an addition to the lodge there at their own expense, doubtless to serve the purpose of a "nineteenth hole"; and a few years later the magistrates themselves considered the project of building a new golf house there.³

The Golf Club flourished as long as the Green contained the hazards necessary to make the game interesting. In winter also there was the Robertson Hunt, otherwise the Glasgow Hounds, which held its first meet in 1771, and followed the fox from the wilds of Tollcross over Hamilton Moor and upper Clydeside.⁴

They snuffed extensively, as they feasted and golfed, these Glasgow burgesses of that prosperous time, and not the least thriving of the smaller industries of the town was the manufacture of the pungent brown powder. Perhaps the most considerable of the snuff-makers was Ninian Bryce who for years carried on the business at a mill on the Kelvin, three miles from the city. As age grew upon him he began to find the journey a considerable toil, and he approached the Town Council to let him have an old disused mill above the High Kirk, on adapting which to his purpose he proposed to spend £200. He had to introduce strong joists, to bear the weight of the tobacco in the drawing room and the strain of the machinery in the grinding room,

² *Burgh Records*, 24th Aug., 1761; 3rd Feb., 1762.

³ *Ibid.* 23rd Sept., 1700; 7th May, 1779.

⁴ *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 164.

and it is pleasant to think of the room for the petitioner himself, with a fireplace and two windows, where doubtless he could sit with a friendly customer, and sample the aroma of his own products.⁵ Glasgow, which probably had the first, certainly had the last, of the old Scottish snuff mills. This, beside the old bridge at Cathcart, only ceased manufacture before the beginning of the Great War.

The prosperity of those years brought an increase of population, and a demand for more houses, and the city expanded rapidly towards the west.

The muddy Cow Loan, by which the town's herd used to drive the townsmen's cattle to Cowcaddens, was paved and became Queen Street, and the Back Cow Loan was straightened by purchases of ground from the front of the Inkle factory, where Hutchesons' Hospital now stands, and from the back of Alexander Speirs' mansion at the head of Virginia Street, and laid out as Ingram Street.⁶ The Town Council bought the lands of Ramshorn and Meadowflat from Hutchesons' Hospital, and proceeded to lay off streets westward on these lands from High Street and from the head of Candleriggs to Queen Street.⁷ Further west still, as early as 1760, the Town Council laid off a street from the Broomielaw northward to the Wester or St. Enoch's gate, now Argyle Street, and began to dispose of building sites to form what was immediately called Jamaica Street.⁸ The laying out and building of St. Enoch Square followed almost at once, and the public joined in a rush for building sites. It was Glasgow's first "building boom."⁹

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 9th Nov., 1762.

⁶ *Ibid.* 8th April, 1766; 12th May, 1772; 13th Aug., 21st Feb., 1782.

⁷ *Ibid.* 12th May, 1772 and on.

⁸ *Ibid.* 31st July, 1760. The price at which the first of the ground was sold was 20s. Scots per square yard. Afterwards the price of each site of 55 feet frontage and the same depth (336 square yards) was £28 sterling—*Ibid.* 27th Jan., 1763.

⁹ *Ibid.* 16th Aug., 30th Aug., 1768; 24th June, 1772.

This enlargement of the city brought about a demand for the building of a seventh city church, and it brought about also a conflict in the city and the Town Council over the question of the right to appoint a minister. The church which was built was the Wynd Church, in 1762, but the settlement of the minister was delayed by the struggle between the Town Council and certain elements in the city over the right to appoint an incumbent. The Council maintained its right, as representing the community, who paid the stipend, to make the appointment, but declared its willingness to consider the wishes of the kirk session in the matter. Twice, after an agreement with the kirk session, it nominated a minister, only to have him rejected by the General Session, which refused to accept the arrangement. In the end the Council applied to the Court of Session, which decided that the right of appointing the ministers of all the city churches, except the High Church, belonged solely to the Town Council.¹⁰ Thus was decided in Glasgow an outstanding episode of the great controversy which was to have its climax in the Disruption eighty years later.

To each of the seven churches a separate district was allotted. These districts had an average of four thousand inhabitants, and the total population of the city in 1765 was thus made out to be 28,099.¹ In these circumstances the city ministers might be considered fully justified in asking an increase of stipend. In 1722 these stipends had been raised from £90 sterling to 2000 merks Scots (£111 2s. 2½d.), but the ministers pointed out that the cost of living had greatly advanced since that date, and that it had become impossible to maintain their families upon the sum allowed them without changing their manner of living to such an obscure inhospitable style as must be thought unsuitable to their position. The Town Council

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 25th May, 6th April, 1762; 27th Jan., 1763; 2nd May, 1765; 8th April, 1766.

¹ *Ibid.* 11th June, 1765. Twelve years later, including Gorbals and Calton, it was computed to be 43,000.—Gibson, *History*, p. 124.

saw reason in this appeal, and added a very acceptable 500 merks to each stipend.²

Probably for a similar reason the teachers in the Grammar School had their salaries raised not long afterwards. The rector's payment was increased from £40 to £55 sterling per annum, while each of the three "doctors" had his salary increased from £15 to £20.³

Another demand brought about by the growth of population, but by no means so easy to satisfy, was that for a sufficient supply of water. So far this first necessary of life had been obtained from wells sunk anywhere in the streets and "yards" or gardens. In view of the common habit of allowing middens to accumulate in these yards and streets, the water thus obtained must have been in most cases of very doubtful purity, but it was probably a growing scarcity rather than any fear of infection which suggested another source. It was in 1769 that the first suggestion was made of bringing water to the city in pipes. The Town Council was evidently impressed, and in the following year brought two plumbers from Edinburgh, Elias and William Scot, to advise on the problem. These experts must be credited with suggesting the method by which the city was to secure a full supply for its needs nearly a century later. Their plan was to bring water from a distance in pipes. They were paid £12 12s. sterling "for their trouble in searching for good water to be brought in to the town, levelling the ground from Castletown to Glasgow, and making a plan of the ground through which the water was to be brought."⁴ Two years later the Town Council granted permission to two burgesses to lead water to their own premises in pipes from the wells at Spoutmouth and at the foot of Virginia Street⁵; and three years later still, in presenting a bill to Parliament for extending the royalty of the city and "for cleaning, paving, lighting and

² *Ibid.* 10th Feb., 1762.

³ *Ibid.* 3rd Dec., 1765.

⁴ *Ibid.* 8th Nov., 1769; 1st Oct., 1770.

⁵ *Ibid.* 24th June, 1772.

lamp the streets thereof," it was recommended to seek powers, also, "for bringing in good fresh water to the said city."⁶ The difficulty evidently was the necessity which would arise of levying a tax for the purpose, and the project ended for the time with the repeated expression of pious opinions on the subject, and the employment of Robert McKell, engineer, "to enquire and search for fountains, springs, and water of good quality in the contiguity of the city of Glasgow, sufficient to serve the inhabitants thereof."⁷

The financial affairs of the city itself were at that time quite prosperous. When the chamberlain's books were examined by a committee in 1767 it was found that the annual revenue was "nearly equal to the town's annual expence"; and in 1775, when another enquiry was made, the revenue was found to be actually £400 sterling more than the expenditure.⁸ In these circumstances the magistrates felt themselves justified in ordering gold chains to be worn by themselves as "bages of honour."⁹ The Town Council, however, seems to have made little distinction between capital sums which it derived from the sale of property and otherwise, and revenue which it derived from feu-duties, rents, market and bridge dues, and the like. Thus the ancient property of the archbishops—the Easter and Wester Commons and the lands afterwards laboriously reacquired to form the new Green—were from first to last disposed of, and the proceeds, which should have gone into a capital stock, the "Common Good," as it is called to-day, used to meet current expenses and emergencies of the hour. In this way, in 1767 the Town Council parted with its last possession in Provan—the feu-duties of that "twentie pound land"—for sums amounting

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 16th March, 1775.

⁷ *Ibid.* 28th and 29th Nov., 1775. For later efforts and developments, see *infra*, chap. xlv.

⁸ *Ibid.* 30th Jan., 1767; 23rd Nov., 1775.

⁹ *Ibid.* 15th Jan., 1767.

to £41,423 Scots (£3451 19s. 6d. sterling)¹⁰ and there is no evidence that this capital sum was kept apart, or separately invested in any way.¹

But, notwithstanding any questions as to book-keeping, the city's credit was good. An Edinburgh firm offered the Town Council a loan of £400 sterling, part at 4½ per cent. and part at 5 per cent. interest, and, while the city fathers were willing to accept the loan, they refused to pay more than 4½ per cent.² Quite a number of individuals also took to depositing capital sums with the town, to be repaid in the form of annuities. Thus the sum of £500 sterling was "advanced to and sunk with the town," by Alexander Stirling of Deanside, "to remain with them for ever, and never to be repaid," in consideration of an annuity of £45 per annum to himself and his daughter Janet after him, "each year of her lifetime, and no longer." The usual rate of annuity for a person of about sixty years of age was ten per cent. on the capital sum. On one occasion, indeed, the Town Council refused an attempt by a spinster of fifty-nine to extract 12½ per cent., and the lady saw it to her interest to modify her demand.³

Another interesting function which the Town Council was called upon to exercise to a large extent at that time was the granting of "seals of cause" to various semi-public bodies. The seal of cause conferred on its holders power to exercise certain stated functions. In each case the warrant was inscribed in detail in the minutes of the Town Council, and the Town Council could exercise certain powers of control.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 23rd Dec., 1766; 3rd Feb., 1767.

¹ The feu-duties amounted to £1055 4s. 10d. Scots, and the purchasers were William Macdowall of Castle Semple, John Campbell of Clathic, and James Hill, writer, who thus gave nearly forty years' purchase for their possession.

² *Burgh Records*, 6th April, 1766.

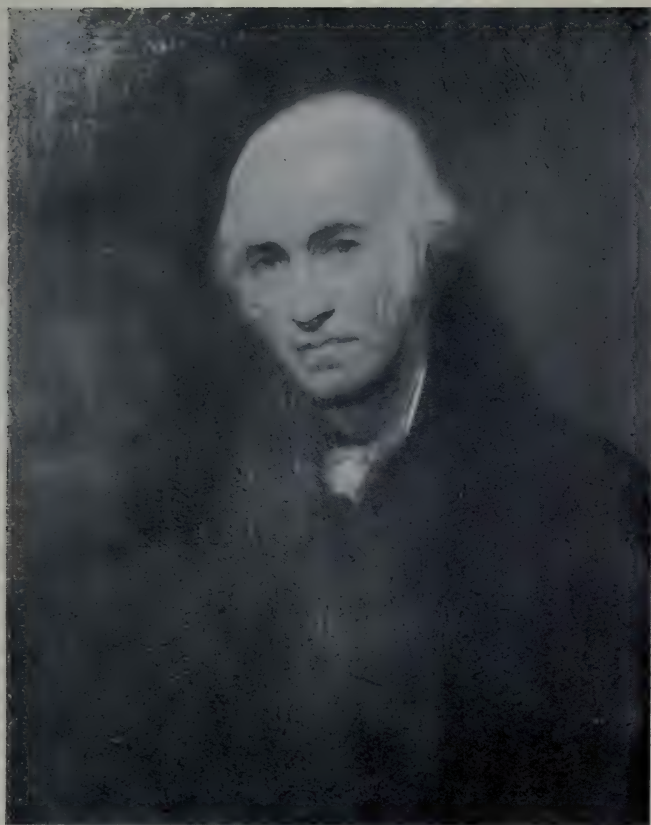
³ *Ibid.* 20th Aug., 1771; 15th Dec., 1778; 26th May, 1779; 17th May, 1780.

One of the purposes of these incorporations was the support of their decayed members, but other objects of various kinds were also secured. Among the bodies which were granted seals of cause at that time were the Graham Society and the Wilson Society, the Ayrshire Society and the Dunbartonshire Society, the Painters, the Sedan Chairmen, and the Tobacco Spinners. Even the managers of the Gaelic Chapel, erected at the north corner of Queen Street and Ingram Street in 1767 for the benefit of Highlanders coming to Glasgow, who wished to hear a service in their native tongue, found it desirable to have the sanction of a seal of cause to enable them to deal with funds and make rules for the regular carrying on of their society.⁴

At the same time the Town Council took several steps towards the better ordering of its own affairs. In 1766 the Town-Clerk, Thomas Miller of Barskimming, was raised to the Bench in the Court of Session as Lord Justice-Clerk. Eighteen years previously, as a young advocate practising in Edinburgh, he had been appointed joint town-clerk with Alexander Finlayson, with the intention that he should attend to the legal interests of Glasgow in the Scottish capital.⁵ Finlayson had then served the city, as agent and clerk, for sixty years, and wished to retire, but there was a competent Town-Clerk Depute, John McGilchrist, who could be trusted to carry on the city's business at home, so no change was made at the time. Finlayson, however, was now dead, and on Miller's elevation to

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 2nd Jan., 28th June, 1770; 2nd Aug., 1771; 31st Aug., 1773; 19th Dec., 1775; 12th March, 1778; 8th Sept., 1st Oct., 1779. "Corporations are constituted by royal charter (or letters patent) or by special Act of Parliament. . . . Chartered corporations, further, used to have the power of creating minor corporations within their own body by "seal of cause," as in the case of guilds and crafts in burghs. But these are not independent methods of creation: the one is held to imply, and the other *ex hypothesi* implies, an original charter from the Crown. . . . Since 1846 trade monopolies ("exclusive privileges") of guilds and similar incorporations in burghs in Scotland are altogether abolished (9 and 10 Vict. c. 17, s. 1)."—Green's *Encycl. Scots Law* vi., 311; xi. 103.

⁵ *Ibid.* 8th April, 1748.



JAMES WATT, 1736-1819.

From oil painting by John Graham Gilbert.

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the Bench, and resignation of his town-clerkship, the Town Council took the opportunity of enumerating and recording the functions and duties of the office. A full list of these services and duties was made, in two divisions, those from which the emoluments of the Town Clerkship were derived, and those which yielded little or no profit to the holder. Among the former were attendance at the town's court and the dean of guild court, the keeping of the sasines, extracting of decreets, and granting of acts of warding. Among the latter were attendance at the meetings of the Town Council and committees, as well as at the meetings of Hutchesons' Hospital and the Town's Hospital, with the management of the town's business and the keeping of the town's charters and records. These duties having been duly enumerated and recorded, the Town Council proceeded to appoint as joint town-clerks, Archibald McGilchrist, a son, it may be hoped, of the town-clerk depute who had served the city so long and so well, and John Wilson, another Glasgow writer. Their appointment, however, was not for life, as had previously been the rule, but only "during the will and pleasure of the magistrates and council." ⁶

Further to set its house in order, in the following year the Town Council accepted an invitation of the Lord Rector of the University to make up an account of all charters, documents, and facts regarding the jurisdiction of that body, and settle, once for all, a question which had on several occasions threatened to make serious trouble between the College and the civic authorities.⁷

Almost immediately afterwards the Town Council found itself called upon to support the jurisdiction of a still greater authority. The claim of Archibald Stewart to be the son of Lady Jane Douglas, and therefore heir of the vast estates of the Duke of Douglas—the action popularly known as the

⁶ *Ibid.* 16th June, 14th July, 1766. ⁷ *Ibid.* 15th June, 1767. See *supra*, p. 115.

Douglas Cause—had just been decided against the claimant in the Court of Session. The decision was most unpopular in Edinburgh, and throughout the country excitement reached an extraordinary pitch. In the midst of the furore a letter reached the Lord President threatening to “tear him limb from limb, and give his bowels to the cats,” unless he revoked the decision. This unpleasant fate, the letter added, was too good for his lordship. This was regarded as a high insult and indignity done to the Court of Session and the whole justice of the country, and it was addressed from Glasgow. The agent for the Crown accordingly called upon the magistrates and council of the city to pursue every possible method to discover the author or authors of the epistle, in order that they might be severely punished. For such a purpose the resources of the Town Council were strictly limited. There was no police detective department in those days. But the magistrates did their best. They advertised in each of the Glasgow newspapers, offering an unprecedented reward, the sum of £100 sterling, for the discovery of the culprit. As nothing further is heard of the matter it may be presumed that the writer of the letter remained unknown.⁸

It may have been this occurrence which suggested to the magistrates the desirability of securing further powers. In earlier times the bailie appointed by the Archbishop had held courts and carried on the legal administration of the barony and regality of Glasgow. The possession of the office, which was then of importance and emolumental advantage, had been the subject of fierce rivalry between the families of Hamilton and Lennox in the days of Queen Mary. Latterly, with other

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 22nd July, 1767. When news reached Edinburgh later that the decision of the Court of Session had been reversed by the House of Lords, popular feeling reached an astonishing height. Bonfires were lit, and the Lord President, and other judges who had decided with him, had to be protected from the fury of the mob by a detachment of troops.—Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, III., 344.

pertinents of the archbishopric, it had fallen to the Crown. When McUre wrote his *History of Glasgow* in 1736 the Duke of Montrose was Bailie of the Regality, and his deputies administered justice in the Court Hall of the city three times a week. By the Act abolishing heritable jurisdictions, which followed the Jacobite rising of 1745, the Regality Court was brought to an end, most of its powers being transferred to the Sheriff Court.⁹ Now the Town Council proposed to have this baronial office vested in the lord provost, with power to him to name substitutes. Accordingly, on the occasion of a visit to London in 1772, to secure the passing of certain bills through parliament, the lord provost, Colin Dunlop, was desired to make application in the proper quarter for a deputation of the office to himself and his successors, "to the end a legal check may be put to the commission of crimes in and about the city of Glasgow, and the offenders punished in terms of law."¹⁰ Nothing further, however, is recorded regarding this effort, and the desired powers were left to be secured by later police Acts.

An office of much less dignity, but evidently also of some emolument, was that of the jailor of the tolbooth. Not only did the post afford a living to its holder, but it could afford to be burdened with pensions to other persons as well. When John Rowand resigned the office in 1774 on account of his age—he was 72—he besought the Town Council, because of his years and the fact that he had a wife and family to support, to allow him something out of the profits of the appointment. Thereupon the Council agreed that the next jailor should pay him an annuity of £20 sterling out of the emoluments. They also did something more curious. There were two candidates for the jailorship. In an endeavour evidently not to disappoint anyone, the Council agreed that whichever of the two received

⁹ *Glasgow Archæological Society Transactions*, Old Series, ii. 273; *Green's Encycl.* vol. xl. 395.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 25th Feb., 1772.

the appointment should not only pay the £20 annuity to Rowand, but also an annuity of the same amount to the unsuccessful candidate. The profits from keeping the town's prisoners were evidently fairly substantial when John Lawson accepted the post burdened with these two considerable payments.¹

¹ *Burgh Records*, 2nd Aug., 1774.

CHAPTER XXXI

JAMES WATT : CANALS AND THE STEAM ENGINE

WHEN the great tobacco trade with Virginia and the sugar trade with the West Indies were at the apex of their fortunes one of the most serious difficulties which the merchants of Glasgow had to contend with lay in the inadequate means of communication and transport. General Wade had shewn the way towards improvement by the making of his military roads throughout the country in the middle of the century. It was the making of one of these, the road along Loch Lomond side, which General Wolfe superintended from the Garrison at Inversnaid, between the time when he commanded the garrison in Glasgow, and the expedition for the conquest of Canada in which he fell. We have seen how, shortly afterwards, a sort of fever of road-making and bridge-building seized the Town Council, which plunged heavily into debt over the enterprise. A dozen years later came Golborne's practicable scheme for the deepening of the Clyde, and it was followed immediately by proposals for other waterways connected with the city. In the projecting of these enterprises the genius of the celebrated James Watt played a part which seems in danger of being forgotten. Watt's early and important work as a civil engineer has been overshadowed by his later achievements in the improvement and development of the steam engine.

The inventor's family came originally from Aberdeenshire. His great-great-grandfather, a small laird farming his own land, was killed fighting on the Covenanting side against the

Marquess of Montrose. His grandfather, Thomas Watt, migrating south, became a teacher of mathematics, surveying, and navigation at Crawforddyke, now part of Greenock; and his uncle, John Watt, a successful engineer and land-surveyor at Ayr, was extensively employed, as we have seen, by the Town Council of Glasgow in making plans and surveys of the city and district. Watt's father was a ship's block-maker and general merchant at Greenock, where for some time he held the office of magistrate. His business, however, offered small prospects, and in 1754 he sent his son, then aged eighteen, to London, to learn the craft of mathematical instrument making.

Forced by ill-health to return to Scotland, James Watt proposed to set up business in Glasgow. Against this intention, however, stood the obstacle that he was not a freeman of any Craft. In this difficulty the young mechanic found a friend in Professor John Anderson, occupant of the Chair of Natural Philosophy in Glasgow University. Anderson's father had been minister of Rosneath, and his younger brother had been one of Watt's school companions at Greenock.¹ George Muirhead, also, Professor of Latin in the University, was a relation of Watt's mother. At the psychological moment a fortunate chance occurred. In January, 1756, Alexander Macfarlane, a merchant in Jamaica, and brother of the Chief of the clan, bequeathed to Glasgow University the instruments of an astronomical observatory which he had fitted up in that far-off island. On being brought home these instruments were found to have suffered from tropical heat and damp. Watt, who was in Glasgow at the time, was asked to clean them and put them in order. For his trouble he was paid £5.² But more

¹ Coutts, *Hist. Univ. Glasg.* p. 264.

² *Memorials of James Watt.* George Williamson, in these *Memorials*, originates a statement that Watt was prevented from setting up business in the city by the Incorporation of Hammermen. The growth and groundlessness of this idea were dealt with in a scholarly article in *The Glasgow Herald* of 26th Dec. 1811, included in the *History of the Hammermen*, by Lumsden and Aitken, p. 394.

important still, the young mechanic was appointed instrument-maker to the University, and had a workshop fitted up for him in the college, which was outside the jurisdiction of the Trades House and the Town Council. Thus sheltered, for six years, from 1757 till 1763, he struggled to make a scanty living.

Meanwhile Anderson's house and library, his conversation and scientific apparatus, played their part in ripening Watt's mechanical genius. As early as 1759 he had speculated with a college friend, Robison, afterwards of the Chair of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh, on steam as a motive power, and two years later he had experimented with a Papin's Digester, but the flash of inspiration came in the winter of 1763, when Anderson sent him for repair the model of the Newcomen engine used in the Natural Philosophy class. That engine was chiefly used for pumping water from mines.³ In it steam was merely used to inflate a cylinder and drive up a piston attached to a beam from the other end of which hung the plunger of a pump. The steam in the cylinder was cooled by a jet of water, and, as it condensed, the piston sank and dragged down its end of the beam, thus drawing up the plunger of the pump at the other end. Watt's first improvement was the provision of a separate chamber for condensing the steam, thus saving the waste entailed in cooling the main cylinder against the next injection of steam. He afterwards, however, proceeded to use steam for pushing the piston both up and down, and may thus justly be said to be the inventor of the real steam engine.

A partnership with Dr. Roebuck, founder of the Carron Ironworks, came to nothing, and it was not till 1773 that, in

³ Newcomen's engine, an invention of the year 1710, immensely helped to develop the industry of coal-mining, as it enabled water to be pumped from much greater depths.—Mackinnon, *Soc. and Indus. Hist.* p. 79. One of these engines was installed at the coal pits in Gorbals in 1762.—*Burgh Records*, 10th June, 1762.

partnership with Matthew Boulton of Soho near Birmingham, Watt was able to build engines for practical purposes, and proceed with the invention of further improvements.

But, though the steam engine was afterwards to play a vital part in developing the industries and fortunes of Glasgow, Watt's other services to the city were of more immediate advantage. In 1763, possibly because he had married the daughter of a burgess, he was allowed to leave the College precincts, and set up a workshop in the town. Even there for a time he had to eke out a livelihood by various devices. Though without any ear whatever for music, he both made and mended fiddles; and he actually constructed several organs, one of which, after a somewhat chequered history, is now preserved in the city's Art Galleries at Kelvingrove.⁴ It was not till 1767 that his abilities found a new and larger field in the service of the community.

As early as the reign of Charles II. the suggestion had been made of a canal to afford transport across the narrow neck of Scotland, between the Forth and the Clyde. Defoe, again, in his *Tour to Scotland*, wrote "If this city could have a communication with the firth of Forth, so as to send their tobacco and sugar by water to Alloway, below Stirling, as they might from thence again to London, Holland, Hamburg, and the Baltic, they would very probably, in a few years, double their trade." The suggestion had been revived in 1723 and in 1761, and the Board of Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures had the route for a canal surveyed by John Smeaton in 1763 without result. The advantages, nevertheless, were so obvious that in 1766 the merchants of Glasgow determined to proceed with the enterprise. In two days the sum of £30,000 was subscribed for the purpose, and James Watt was employed to make surveys and prepare an estimate of the cost of the under-

⁴ The full history of James Watt's organ is detailed in J. O. Mitchell's *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 50.

taking. The Town Council subscribed £1000, and the original idea was that the canal should enter the Clyde near the Broomielaw.⁵

Having in view, no doubt, the limited sum at the disposal of the promoters, Watt planned a waterway only four feet deep and twenty-four feet broad. The plan was opposed by land owners and others on the eastern side of the country, led by Sir Lawrence Dundas, M.P., who, perhaps, did not wish to see the waterway controlled entirely by Glasgow merchants; and Parliament threw out the bill on the plea that the capital subscribed and the scheme proposed were inadequate. In the following year, Sir Lawrence Dundas secured an Act of Parliament for the forming of a company with a capital of £150,000 and liberty to borrow £50,000. This project in turn was heartily supported by Glasgow Town Council, which transferred to it its subscription of £1000, and sent the Lord Provost, George Murdoch, to London to support the proposal in Parliament.⁶ The Act of Parliament was secured, the engineer Smeaton was engaged to superintend the work, and the first sod was cut by Sir Lawrence himself in July 1768.⁷ The canal was opened as far west as Stockingfield in 1775, and the branch to Hamilton Hill and Port Dundas, half a mile north of Glasgow, shortly afterwards; but it was not completed to Bowling till July 1790.

Meanwhile Watt had found employment on another similar enterprise. With the increase of population, Glasgow had

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 15th Jan., 1st April, 1767.

⁶ *Ibid.* 30th Nov., 1767; 23rd Jan., 1768. Marwick, *The River Clyde*, p. 179.

⁷ Sir Lawrence, preceding Richard Oswald of Auchencruive, had made an immense fortune as provider of stores for the fighting forces of the time; he had purchased the rich estate of Kerse, which included the village of Grangemouth, and the Forth and Clyde Canal formed part of his plan for developing his estate. The plan took two generations to arrive at fruition, but out of it grew the thriving town of Grangemouth, and no small part of the fortunes of the family whose head is now Marquess of Zetland.

begun to find the sources of its coal supply somewhat inadequate. It was suggested in 1769 that the rich coalfields of Monkland, which had been mined by the monks of Tranent as long ago as the thirteenth century, might be made available by means of a waterway. The Town Council subscribed £500 to the undertaking on condition that the owners of coal along the line of the canal should become bound to put out 30,000 tons of coal per annum for thirty years, a stipulation afterwards modified to the demand that the coal-owners should subscribe £5000 sterling to the work.⁸ James Watt was employed to make a survey, an Act of Parliament was secured, and the excavation was begun. But when ten miles of channel had been constructed the whole subscribed capital of £10,000 had been spent, with as much again of borrowed money. On the shareholders refusing to subscribe more, the Town Council resolved to sell its share,⁹ and the whole undertaking was disposed of to Messrs. William Stirling & Sons, the great firm of Turkey Red dyers and bleachers. The new owners are understood to have expended £100,000 in completing the work, and, with the proprietors of the Forth and Clyde Canal, they made a connection with that waterway at Port Dundas.¹⁰ Besides its mineral traffic, the canal carried large numbers of passengers. It began to pay a dividend in 1807, and after 1825, when the great ironworks at Calder, Gartsherrie, Dundyvan, and Langloan were established along its route, it proved highly remunerative, and greatly helped the development of Glasgow's industry.

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 8th Nov., 1769; 2nd Jan., 18th Jan., 1770; 2nd March, 1770.

⁹ *Ibid.* 7th June, 28th June, 1780.

¹⁰ Stirling Road in the Townhead of Glasgow, is not the road to Stirling, but the road made by William Stirling & Sons, to give access to the basin of their canal in Castle Street. Similarly, when, in 1812, a new road northward from Queen Street was formed to give access to the basin of the Forth and Clyde Canal at Port Dundas, the Town Council named it Dundas Street.—*Burgh Records*, 8th Jan. 1812.

About the time when the Monkland Canal was projected—in 1769—Watt was asked by the Town Council, on Golborne's suggestion, to supplement that engineer's report, made in the previous year, on the condition of the channel of the Clyde, and it was after his supplementary survey and report that Glasgow procured its second Act of Parliament on the subject, and proceeded to carry out Golborne's plans for the clearing and deepening of the river.¹

An engineering work of a similar kind was the graving dock at Port-Glasgow, constructed under Watt's direction in 1761. It is said to have been the first graving dock in Scotland. It could contain at one time two vessels of 500 tons burden each, and was kept dry by means of a pump worked by a horse.² Ten years later Watt was employed to make a report on the needs of the harbour at Port-Glasgow, and his plans for cleaning, improving, and enlarging it, as well as repairing, and improving the dry dock, were duly carried out by the Town Council.³

Further afield, in 1773, he was asked to prepare plans for a canal through the Great Glen of Scotland, to connect Inverness with the western ocean at Loch Linnhe, but his estimate of the cost—£165,000—so alarmed the promoters that the project was dropped for thirty years.⁴ When the Caledonian Canal was at last constructed, under Telford's direction, the estimate was £474,531, and the actual cost ran to £1,311,270.

Among his other works Watt was asked to report on the comparative advantages of Tarbert and Crinan for the cutting

¹ 10 George III. c. 104. Marwick, *The River Clyde*, p. 180.

² Marwick, *The River Clyde*, pp. 108, 178. Brown's *History of Glasgow*, II., 348. *Burgh Records*, 27th April, 29th Sept., 1758; 5th Oct., 1761; 30th Sept., 1768.

³ *Burgh Records*, 20th Aug., 1771.

⁴ For his services and expenses in surveying this canal through the Great Glen of Scotland Watt's fee was £1 17s. per day.—Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 106 note.

of a canal to connect the Firth of Clyde with the Atlantic,⁵ and he made surveys for the improvement of the harbours of Ayr and Greenock.

All of these enterprises were not immediately connected with the development of Glasgow, but remarkably enough, in the course of time, most of them, even the far-off Caledonian Canal, came to be contributory to the fortunes of this "dark, sea-born city." Among the inventor's later services to the city were the introduction, in 1786, of the French chemist Berthollet's recent discovery of chlorine gas for bleaching purposes, and the invention of a cable pipe on the ball and socket principle, by which the Glasgow Water Company brought a supply across the bed of the river from a valuable well on the south side.

James Watt retired from active partnership in his engine-making business at Soho in the year 1800, received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Glasgow six years later, and died at Heathfield in Staffordshire in 1819.⁶ His statue by Chantrey, a seated figure in marble, is one of the interesting possessions of Glasgow University, while a reproduction of it, in bronze, sits in George Square.⁷

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 1st March, 1771. Twenty-one years later, on a subscription paper issued by the Duke of Argyll, the Town Council agreed to take four shares of £50 each in the Crinan Canal enterprise.—*Ibid.* 22nd Nov. 1792.

⁶ Williamson, *Memorials of James Watt*. Muirhead, *Life of Watt*. Smiles, *Lives of Boulton and Watt*.

⁷ Glasgow has at least five Watt statues. The first, by Greenshields, was executed in freestone for the Mechanics' Institute, and is now in the Technical College, which also has a smaller replica of it. There is also a small statue by William Scoular in the Art Galleries at Kelvingrove.

CHAPTER XXXII

REVOLT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES

THE fortunes of Glasgow were for years little affected by the wars in which George II. and his connection with the kingdom of Hanover involved this country. The French were our enemies at that time in the new world of America, as well as in India and in Europe itself. In the far east they planned to drive us out of India. Labourdonnais, governor of the French colony of Mauritius, in 1746, besieged and destroyed our colony of Madras, while Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, profiting by the break-up of the Mogul Empire, conceived the idea of driving the English out of India, and founding a great French Empire there. In Europe, on the conclusion of a treaty between Britain and Frederick of Prussia in 1755, war broke out again—the Seven Years' War—and opened with disaster—the capture of Minorca, the key of the Mediterranean, by the Duc de Richelieu, the retreat of the fleet under Admiral Byng, and the forced disbanding by the Duke of Cumberland of his army of fifty thousand men on the Elbe. Not less alarming was the series of successes of the French arms in America. The English colonies then lay practically along the Atlantic coast, while north and south of them Louisiana and Lower Canada were held by France. From these bases the French planned to close in the English colonies, and claim the entire hinterland for themselves. They drove the British settlers from the valleys of the Mississippi and the Ohio, and founded on the latter Fort Duquesne. In attempting to attack Fort Duquesne George

Washington was driven back, and General Braddock was utterly routed and slain. Under the Marquis de Montcalm the French erected a chain of forts which seemed to complete their plan, and shut the British colonies from all access to the West. The fortunes of this country were at their lowest when Lord Chesterfield exclaimed in despair "We are no longer a nation!"

As a matter of fact this country was just then on the eve of its greatest achievements. All the world knows how the genius of William Pitt changed the whole aspect of affairs. From the moment when that statesman took the reins of government in 1757 a new heroic spirit began to move in all the country's interests. In India, Clive avenged the horrors of the Black Hole of Calcutta by the great victory at Plassey, which laid all Bengal, Orissa, and Bihar at his feet. In Europe, Pitt's subsidies of money and men enabled King Frederick to annihilate one French army at Rossbach, and the Duke of Brunswick to overthrow another at Minden, while the invasion of Britain by a great French host was prevented by Admiral Hawke's destruction of the French fleet in Quiberon Bay. At the same time, beyond the Atlantic, a large and well-planned campaign was organized. The colonists themselves raised twenty thousand men, and three expeditions proceeded to attack the French line. One, under General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen, captured Louisburg, with its garrison of five thousand men and the fleet in its harbour. Another, of colonists under George Washington, took Fort Duquesne, and named it Pittsburg after the British statesman himself. In the following year, 1759, the forts of Ticonderoga and Niagara were taken; and shortly afterwards, by General Wolfe's capture of Quebec, and Amherst's capture of Montreal, the Marquis de Montcalm's splendid dream of a French empire in America was brought to an end.

In that American campaign many Scotsmen took part. Lord

Continued by E.B.

Loudon's and the other Highland regiments are said to have captivated our Indian allies by the similarity of their kilt to the nether garment of the Cherokees ; the tragic story of a Highland officer—the Ticonderoga vision—remains a thrilling tradition of the ancient stronghold of Inverawe, below the Pass of Brander in Argyll ; and the dispatch intimating the surrender of Quebec was brought home by a Border laird, Douglas of Friarshaw, who was knighted for the service, received a baronetcy for his later naval achievements, and is represented to-day by one of our most distinguished Scottish men of letters, Sir George Douglas, Bart., of Springwood. Many Scottish officers, like Captain MacVicar from the Goosedubs in Glasgow, as already mentioned, received extensive grants of land in the colonies themselves, and settled there as planters, thus affording the prospect of a still closer linking of Scotland, and especially Glasgow, with the sources of its trading wealth across the Atlantic.

Apart from the constant billeting of soldiers, Glasgow seems to have been little disturbed by the warlike movements of that time. Its trade suffered no check. Just at the moment, however, when success crowned our arms in every quarter of the globe an event occurred at home which was to have far-reaching and disastrous issues. On 25th October, 1760, King George II. died suddenly in his palace of Kensington, and was succeeded by his grandson, George III. The new monarch was as headstrong as he was unwise. With the words of his mother in his ears—" George, be a king ! " he set himself to make Parliament merely the instrument of his will, and the result was seen in widespread discontent and riots at home—the agitation led by the attacks of Wilkes in the *North Briton* and by the fierce invective contained in the letters of the writer who styled himself Junius—while beyond the Atlantic it was to bring about the rebellion of our richest colonies and their declaration of independence as the United States of America.

Meanwhile in Glasgow certain depressing and ominous tendencies were to be seen at work. While wealth was still flowing into the city through the great trade with the American colonies, there was growing, in the older wynds and vennels, a substratum of poverty. Attracted by the reports of wealth to be acquired, humble folk were coming in from the country, and there was also in the city itself a residuum of the less capable and less fortunate, whose circumstances were never very far from the subsistence line. When any stringency arose, perhaps by reason of a bad harvest, these people were at once in distress, and provision for them became one of the problems of the Town Council. An emergency of the kind occurred in the winter of 1765, when the Council found it necessary to appoint a committee to meet with committees of the Merchants and Trades Houses, to concert measures for the relief of the distressed. Money was borrowed and meal and victual were purchased. The relief thus provided led to a demand for continued supplies, and the town found it necessary to buy ground and build a granary for the purpose.¹ Again, six years later, when the Ayr Bank failed, with a loss of £450,000, and the stoppage of credit and calling up of loans caused widespread distress in the West of Scotland, a large number of the tradesmen of the city were faced with want. On that occasion, for the first time, the cause of the trouble is stated to be unemployment. In this case the emergency was met by a voluntary subscription. A similar state of affairs in Greenock and Port-Glasgow at the same time led to riots in these places.² There then arose an outcry against the Corn Law. This law dealt with the importation of grain and the duties levied upon it. The subject brought Glasgow and the other burghs, with their industrial interests and demand for cheap food, into direct conflict with the interests

¹ *Burgh Records*, 20th Dec., 1765 ; 24th Sept., 1766.

² *Ibid.* 30th Dec., 1772. Humphrey Cunningham, shipmate, was made a burgess and guild-brother of Glasgow for " his spirited behaviour in quelling the late mobs at Greenock and Port-Glasgow."—*Ibid.* 29th March, 1773.

of the rural districts of the country, which depended upon agriculture for their prosperity. It is a conflict of interests which has lasted from that day till this.⁷ The provost was sent to London to secure alteration of the measure.

But the most serious blow to the trade and fortunes of Glasgow was struck by the outbreak of war with the American colonies in 1775. Whatever might be the justice of the proposal that the colonies should be asked to repay part of the huge expense incurred by this country in freeing them from the constant menace of a French invasion, there can be no question that the method taken to exact that repayment was singularly wanting in tact and needlessly provocative in detail. But Government and people on this side felt that their demand was reasonable, and when the position became really serious, with the surrender of General Burgoyne and his entire British force at Saratoga in 1777, Glasgow at once set an example of raising a regiment for the king's service. To this undertaking the Town Council subscribed a thousand pounds, and, as an inducement to enlist, agreed with the Merchants' and Trades Houses to make every man who should join the regiment a burgess of the city free of charge.⁸ In a few days the public of Glasgow subscribed over £10,000, and by dint of processions through the streets, headed by a band in which there were "two young gentlemen playing on pipes, two young gentlemen beating drums, and a gentleman playing on the bagpipes," a fine battalion, 900 strong, was raised, and was known as the 83rd or Glasgow regiment.⁹ The Town Council also offered a bounty of £2 and £1 respectively to every able-bodied and ordinary seaman who should join His Majesty's navy.¹⁰ This example was

⁷ *Ibid.* 15th Feb., 1774 ; 28th April, 21st Nov., 1777.

⁸ *Ibid.* 20th Dec., 1777 ; 17th April, 1778.

⁹ *Ibid.* 29th Dec., 1777 and after ; *Glasgow Mercury*, 29th Jan., 1778 ; Mitchell, *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 29.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 29th Nov., 31st Dec., 1776.

followed by Edinburgh ; other Scottish towns offered bounties for sailors and soldiers ; the Dukes of Hamilton and Atholl each raised a regiment ; the Dukes of Buccleuch and Gordon and Lord Frederick Campbell each raised a fencible corps ; and the Seaforth regiment and other bodies of recruits came pouring from the Highlands, to begin a military period of our history which was to last with only brief intervals for forty years, till the Battle of Waterloo. While the citizens of Glasgow had a great stake in the maintenance of relations with the American colonies, it may be doubted whether the action to which they were thus committed by the policy of King George's Government was the best calculated to further their interests ; but there could be no question of the loyalty with which they rallied to the support of the Government in its emergency. When France and Spain, seizing their opportunity, joined forces with the Americans, and the fleets of Admiral Thurot and Paul Jones threatened the West Coast, Glasgow rose still further to the occasion, purchased twelve cannon from the new ironworks at Carron, and sent them to Greenock for the defence of the Clyde.¹

Glasgow, Port-Glasgow, and Greenock suffered grievously from the depredations of the privateers of America and France, which swarmed in the narrow seas. Through the inefficiency of Lord Sandwich the British navy was heavily handicapped. British warships seldom visited the Clyde, and it was only after strong remonstrance by the magistrates that a guardship was stationed at the Tail of the Bank. In the emergency the ship-owners and sailors of the Clyde rose to the occasion. They fitted out an armada of privateers, which acquitted themselves with surprising effect. Within three months of the outbreak of the war with America Port-Glasgow and Greenock together fitted out fourteen vessels carrying "letters of marque", and more than one Glasgow fortune was founded on the plunder captured in this

¹ *Burgh Records*, 9th Sept., 1778. See *infra*, chap. xlii.

enterprise. On the morning of one sacrament Sunday in 1777, the good folk of Greenock were scandalized by the beating of the town drum through the streets to announce the capture of several prizes by privateers belonging to the town,² and it was a Port-Glasgow privateer, the "Lady Maxwell," of which William Gilmour was master, which had the famous brush with Paul Jones off Ushant on a January afternoon in 1780, and by its exploits earned from French shippers the title of "the Scourge of the Channel."³

Out of this great upheaval arose another trouble which threatened to have serious issues at the time. Considerable numbers of the forces which rallied to the Government's support were Roman Catholic. Against the adherents to that faith there still existed penal laws of great severity. Catholics educated abroad could not inherit or acquire landed property, the next heir who was a Protestant could take possession of a Catholic father's or other relative's estate, and a Catholic priest venturing to practise his office was liable to be treated as a felon. Since British law now protected the French Catholics in Canada, it seemed unfair that the Catholics in Britain itself should still remain under such disabilities. A bill was therefore introduced in the House of Commons in May 1778 for the repeal of the penalties. The bill meanwhile applied only to England, but the fears of Scotsmen of the old Covenanting spirit were at once excited, and in the General Assembly, Dr. Gillies, one of the Glasgow ministers, asked the Lord Advocate regarding the Government's intentions. In reply he was told that though the present bill did not apply to Scotland, a future measure might be introduced for that purpose. At this, large numbers in the country took alarm. Associations were formed, violent resolutions were passed; all the synods except two fanned the

² *Scots Magazine* for 1777.

³ An interesting article on "The Clyde Privateers" by W. Chisholm Mitchell appeared in *The Glasgow Herald* on 13th January, 1912.

flame ; and a fast was appointed by those of Glasgow and Ayr. As had happened after the incitements of John Knox, the cue was taken up by " the rascal mob." On 16th November, 1778, in the Blackfriars Church, the Rev. Daniel McArthur, afterwards a teacher in the Grammar School, preached a fiery sermon inveighing violently against the Church of Rome and all its works.⁴ On 31st January, 1779, a riotous assembly sacked and burned the bishop's house in Edinburgh, and next day destroyed other houses of Catholic clergymen, besides plundering a number of shops and dwelling houses, the tumult being only stopped by the appearance of some troops of dragoons.⁵ In Glasgow, even before the bill was submitted, a similar mob went through the streets breaking windows, and a few days after the Edinburgh riots, another mob attacked the house of Robert Bagnel, potter, and broke and destroyed its contents to the value of £1429 1s. sterling. In each case the damage was paid for out of an assessment laid upon the townspeople for the purpose.⁶ An assurance by the Government that the bill would not be extended to Scotland quieted the upheaval north of the Border, and the Scottish outbreaks were presently eclipsed by the more serious disturbances led by Lord George Gordon in London.⁷

At that time there were only some thirty Roman Catholics in Glasgow. Six years later, in 1785, Bishop Hay, when he came from Edinburgh to visit the flock, celebrated mass in the back room of a house in Saltmarket. In 1792 the adherents

⁴ *Glasgow Mercury*, 10th Dec. 1778.

⁵ Aikman's *Continuation Hist. Scot.*, VI., 640. Glasgow Town Council was one of those which passed resolutions opposing the measure.—*Burgh Records*, 21st Jan., 1779.

⁶ Aikman VI., 641, *Burgh Records*, 28th Jan., 1778 ; 2nd April, 1779. *Scots Mag.* quoted in McGregor's *Hist. Glasg.*, p. 364.

⁷ Aikman VI., 641. *Burgh Records*, 16th Aug., 1780. In May 1781, nevertheless, the Protestant societies of Glasgow sent to Lord George Gordon the sum of £485, an action which, he declared, gave him " the greatest comfort and satisfaction."—Senex, *Old Glasgow*, p. 259.

of the Roman faith fitted up the Tennis Court in Mitchell Street as a place of worship, and it was only in 1797 that a small chapel was built in Gallowgate. The Roman Catholic pro-cathedral in Clyde Street was not built till 1815.⁸

The war itself, as all the world knows, came to an end not a little humiliating to this country. The American colonies, it is true, secured their independence, following the surrender of the British army under Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1782, and Ireland seized the moment of Britain's weakness to make a demand for virtual independence which had to be acceded to. But the naval victories of Admiral Rodney off Cape St. Vincent and in the West Indies shattered the fleets of France and Spain, and left Britain in command of the seas. By the heroic defence of Sir John Elliott, Gibraltar, the key of the Mediterranean, remained a British possession, and in the Far East, India was being steadily brought under British rule, and France was forced finally to give up her pretensions upon that vast empire.

The great struggle, nevertheless, left in Glasgow a sorrowful aftermath which has already been mentioned in these pages. Among other business failures the great houses of Buchanan Hastie & Co. and Andrew Buchanan & Co. came down. Members of these firms, and of the proud Buchanan family who thus saw their great possessions swept from them, were Andrew Buchanan, who was then projecting the laying out of Buchanan Street on his property, and James Buchanan, laird of Drumpellier, who had been Lord Provost of the city.⁹ It is pathetic to find this same James Buchanan, in 1779, appointed Inspector of Police, at a salary of £100 per annum, and further that the Town Council thought it necessary to safeguard the payment by the stipulation that the £100 was "meant and intended for the

⁸ Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 117 note.

⁹ It is in one of the deeds subscribed by James Buchanan as Lord Provost in 1770 that the title of "esquire" is first appended to the name of the chief magistrate of the city.—*Burgh Records*, 12th Sept., 1770.

support and maintenance of the said James Buchanan's family," and was "on no account arrestable or attachable by any of the said James Buchanan's creditors."¹⁰ Provost James ended his life as a Commissioner of Customs at Edinburgh in 1793, while his nephew Andrew, son of the builder of the Virginia Mansion, died in an abode in Adam's Court in 1796.¹

Still more sad was the fate of the senior representative of the proud Buchanan family, Andrew, the projector of Buchanan Street. He was grandson of the original George Buchanan who migrated from Drymen, and head of the two great firms which came down. In 1780, after the crash, no doubt by way of kindly provision for a downfallen merchant, the Town Council appointed him City Chamberlain at a salary of £100 a year. Apparently, however, he had lost heart, his affairs had fallen into confusion, in 1784 his accounts were found to be deficient to the amount of £1457 16s. 10d., and he was summarily dismissed from office. Two brother merchants, his sureties, agreed to make good the default, and on the strength of that arrangement, the Town Council agreed to pay his wife and family an annuity of £40. Three months later Andrew Buchanan was dead.²

In this way the first great era in the fortunes of Glasgow—the era of trade with the American colonies—came to an end. But already another great era—that of the spinning and weaving and chemical industries—was rising to take its place.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 2nd March, 1779. Buchanan resigned the inspectorship of police in 1781 (*ibid.* 5th April).

¹ *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. 23.

² *Burgh Records*, 5th June, 1780; 24th June, 23rd Sept. 1784.

CHAPTER XXXIII

MANUFACTURES AND MANUFACTURERS

ONE of the chief difficulties of the merchants who carried on Glasgow's great business of importing tobacco, rum, and sugar was the scarcity of native manufactured goods to export in exchange. Jupiter Carlyle in his autobiography describes the situation as he knew it in 1744. "There were not manufacturers sufficient," he says, either there or at Paisley, to supply an outward-bound cargo for Virginia. For this purpose "the Glasgow traders were obliged to have recourse to Manchester. Manufactures were in their infancy. About this time the inkle manufactory was first begun by Ingram & Glassford, and was shewn to strangers as a great curiosity. But the merchants had industry and stock, and the habits of business, and were ready to seize with eagerness, and prosecute with vigour, every new object in commerce or manufactures that promised success." ¹

By 1760, the situation had only partly improved. Richard Pococke, bishop of Meath, who visited Glasgow in that year, thus describes it. "The city has above all others felt the advantages of the Union, by the West India trade which they enjoy, which is very great, especially in tobacco, indigoes, and sugar. The first is a great trade in time of war; as they send the tobacco by land to the ports of the Frith of Forth, almost as far as Hopton, and supply France. They have sugar houses, and make what is called Scotch indigo, which is composed with

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 73.

starch, so as to make a fine light blue. In order to carry on this trade properly they have gone into a great variety of manufactures, to have sortments of goods to be exported, as all the inkle smallwares, linnens of all kinds, small ironwares, glass bottles, and earthenwares, which latter they make in great perfection.”²

That a certain progress was being made is shewn by the growth of the population. According to a census which the magistrates ordered to be taken in 1763 the number of inhabitants was 28,300, an increase of 2754 in six years. At the same time, from the list of the city's exports in 1771, given by Gibson in his *History*, the list of goods actually of Glasgow origin is by no means lacking in variety. It includes ale, books, coal, cordage, glass, hats, linen handkerchiefs, wrought iron, tanned leather, sail-cloth, soap, candles, woollens, and herring.³ Wrought iron—spades, hoes, axes, etc.—was produced by the Smithfield Company at the Nailree established in 1737 at the Broomielaw, and exported to the annual value of £23,000. In 1748 there was set up on the site of the present James Watt Street at the Broomielaw a factory for the making of glazed pottery, or Delft-ware, so named from the place of its origin in Holland.⁴ Hat manufacture appears to have been fairly extensive. To Maryland 557 dozen were exported, and to Virginia 2971

² Pococke's *Tours in Scotland*. Scottish History Society, p. 53. The bishop's description of the appearance of Glasgow at that time is itself interesting. "The town," he says, "is finely built of hewn stone. Most of the houses are four stories high, and some five. The streets are extremely well paved, and in the middle of them is a stone a foot broad, and in some a stone also on each side, on which the people walk, but mostly in the middle. Several merchants have grand houses. They have a fine old town house, and a beautiful new town house adjoining to it. There are four markets opposite one another," in King Street, "which are fronted with hewn stone, with three pediments over three doors, and false windows between them. . . . They have also a market for herbs."—*Ibid.* p. 48.

³ Gibson, *History*, p. 226. *Curiosities of Citizenship*, p. 145.

⁴ The earliest Glasgow pottery, however, was made at the old "Pig-house" off Gallowgate.—*Burgh Records*, 8th May, 1722.

dozen.⁵ There were exported also, strangely enough, considerable quantities of snuff and manufactured tobacco. Similarly, among the exports to the West Indies—Jamaica, Barbadoes, Granada, Antigua, Tobago, and other islands, there invariably appears a considerable amount of refined sugar—a case, one might have thought, of sending coals to Newcastle.

This demand for goods to export by way of exchange acted as a strong incentive to the setting up of new manufactures, and under its influence one after another of the great industries of Glasgow came into existence.

Archibald Ingram, mentioned above as one of the partners in the inkle, or linen tape, manufactory, took an early part in this enterprise. Linen printing, the forerunner of calico printing had been introduced into Scotland in 1738, and in 1742 Ingram, with his brother-in-law, Glassford of Dougalston, and other partners, started the first bleachfield and printwork at Pollokshaws. He chose his site well, beside the main road into the city, and between the Cart and the Auldhouse Burn, from which abundance of water was to be had. There he persevered against many difficulties, spinning his yarns and weaving his cloth, training his bleacher and his colour mixer, and finding patterns where he could. After some years of loss he began to make headway. He levelled and irrigated his bleaching-green, built printing shops and drying sheds, and improved his printing processes, from wooden block to copper cylinder, until his works covered thirty acres of land and represented a great and thriving industry.⁶ Ingram was the father of the industry, which, before the end of the century included more than thirty printfields around Glasgow. In civic affairs he was

⁵ There was a hat factory near St. Andrew's Church. *Burgh Records*, 31st Aug., 1769. Perhaps the largest hat-making firm was that of Thomas Buchanan of Ardoch on Loch Lomondside, whose eldest son, John, was M.P. for Dunbartonshire from 1821 till 1826, and built Balloch Castle and Boturich Castle.—*Curiosities of Citizenship*, p. 184.

⁶ Brown, *History of Glasgow*, ii. 212; *Burgh Records*, 15th March, 1765; *Glasgow Mercury*, 20th Oct., 1789 advt.

twice Dean of Guild and twice a bailie, and at last, in 1762, Lord Provost. He was also one of the founders of the Glasgow Arms Bank. He died in 1770, and eleven years later, when the Town Council straightened and laid out the old winding Back Cow Loan, they honoured his memory by giving the thoroughfare the name of Ingram Street.⁷ His effigy is to be seen in a bas-relief above the fire-place in the directors' room of the Merchants' House.⁸

About the time when Archibald Ingram started his print-field at Pollokshaws another industry was begun in Glasgow, which also reached considerable importance, and figures creditably in Gibson's list of exports to the continent and the West Indies. In 1756 seven individuals, "all framework knitters or stocking-makers in Glasgow," applied to the Town Council for an act of incorporation to enable them to control the industry, safeguard the quality of its products, and levy a fund for the support of its decayed workers and their families. The difficulties which were encountered in starting a new industry are set forth in the petition. The petitioners say that when they started their enterprise in 1741, "very few having knoulege thereof," they were obliged to bring workmen from England, Ireland, and other parts, that some of these workmen had fallen sick and died, and that the expense of supporting them and sending their families home had been considerable. Among the powers granted by the Town Council was one of imposing a fine upon every imperfect pair of stockings produced, while every pair passed as perfect by the searcher was to be stamped

⁷ Cleland, *Annals*, i. 36, ii. 479. In 1763, shortly after Ingram's election as Lord Provost, a serious difference arose in the Town Council over the method of appointing a minister to a seventh city church, the re-erected Wynd Church. In that controversy the Provost showed himself to be a "bonnie fechter," and incidentally his reasoned protest, and the answers of the opposite parties stand among the best expositions of the question of church patronage which was to have such notable effects at the Disruption eighty years later.—*Burgh Records*, 10th and 26th Feb., 13th May, 1st Sept., 2nd Nov., 1763 and onward.

⁸ Mitchell, *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 117.

with the word GLASGOW. Precautions like these must have helped materially to build up a business. Probably it was only because of the fact that no man of outstanding ability was at the helm of the enterprise that this industry did not extend and prosper to the same extent as that of bleaching and printing.⁹

Three years later the Town Council granted a similar seal of cause to another company of citizens which seems to have been partly charitable and partly industrial in its purpose, but which marks the beginning of the dyeing business in the city. "The Society for encouraging the dyeing of Mather Red" imported its "mather," or madder, from Holland, while logwood was imported in much larger quantities from America and the West Indies.¹⁰

This madder dyeing industry was to be greatly improved and developed later under the name of Turkey Red, and was to be taken over and transferred to the Vale of Leven by a family which, generation after generation, produced members of remarkable sagacity, enterprise, and energy. The Stirlings were a race which could count its descent through distinguished representatives from the days of William the Lion. In 1537, the head of the house, Robert Stirling of Lettyr, was slain in a feud with his neighbour, Campbell of Auchenhowie. A century later the family was securely settled in Glasgow, Walter Stirling being chosen Dean of Guild in 1639 and 1640, as well as commissioner to represent the town in the Scottish parliament and the General Assembly. He married Helen, daughter of David Wemyss, the first presbyterian minister of Glasgow, and widow of Dr. Peter Lowe, founder of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons.¹ Walter Stirling's son, John, was one of the Glasgow

⁹ *Burgh Records*, 6th May, 1756.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 30th July, 1759; Gibson, *History*, pp. 214, 218, 220.

¹ Lowe is commemorated not only by his portrait in the hall of the Faculty but by the inscription on his tombstone in the Cathedral burying-ground, which describes him as a man

Who of his God had got the grace
To live in mirth and die in peace.

merchants condemned to imprisonment for three months in Edinburgh Tolbooth for hearing outed ministers. John had three sons, all distinguished citizens. The youngest, Walter of Shirva was a magistrate, and ancestor of the Stirlings, baronets of Faskine. The second, William, was a surgeon in Glasgow, and one of the little company who set up a linen factory at Graham's Hall near the city, described by McUre in 1736 as "for weaving all sorts of Hollan-cloth wonderful fine, performed by fine masters expert in the curious art of weaving, as fine and well done as at Haarlem in Holland," and "wonderfully whitened at Dalwhern's bleaching field."² It was Surgeon William's son, Walter Stirling, who founded and endowed Stirling's Library, the first public library in Glasgow. The eldest of the three brothers, John Stirling, was a bailie at the time of the Shawfield riot, and, though out of town at the time, was arrested with Provost Miller, carried to Edinburgh by the dragoons and put on trial, and on the return home he shared in the demonstration by the citizens, the jubilant shouts and ringing of bells. Three years later he was chosen Provost of the city. The provost and his brother Walter were among the merchants named by McUre as "undertaking the trade to Virginia, Carriby Islands, Barbadoes, New England, St. Christopher's, Montserat, and other colonies in America."

One of the provost's sons, James, was minister of the Outer High Church in the cathedral. The other, William, was the founder of the great firm of William Stirling & Sons. He lived in a plain two-storey house among woodyards and vegetable gardens at the head of a close off Bell Street.³ He began business by selling on commission India cottons printed in London,⁴ and his shop, opposite the Blackfriars Wynd in High Street, was greatly frequented by the Glasgow ladies eager to see the latest fashion in wavelets and sprigs. Already in 1750, however, he

² Dalquhurn in the Vale of Leven. ³ *Curiosities of Citizenship*, p. 124.

⁴ Brown's *History of Glasgow*. Advt. in *Glasgow Journal*, 10th May, 1756.

had set up a printwork at Dawsholm, where the pure water of the Kelvin admirably served his purpose. Twenty years later he followed the lead of his uncle, Surgeon William, to the Vale of Leven, where an even purer and more plentiful supply of water was available from Loch Lomond—Smollett's

Pure stream in whose translucent wave
My youthful limbs I wont to lave.

There he feued Cordale, beside Dalquhurn, from Lord Stonefield, and started the famous printfield of William Stirling & Sons.

The "sons," Andrew, John, and James Stirling, were among the founders of Glasgow Chamber of Commerce. One of the daughters, Elizabeth, became the wife of Professor Hamilton, and mother of Thomas Hamilton, author of the fine romance, "Cyril Thornton," the Glasgow scenes and characters of which may be set beside those of Smollett's "Humphry Clinker" and Scott's "Rob Roy."

Of the three brothers, Andrew bought the estate of Drumpellier in West Monkland, which had belonged to his grandfather, Provost Andrew Buchanan. It was probably that fact which brought about the firm's purchase and development of the Monkland Canal, already described. Like Richard Oswald he proceeded to London, and founded there the first house for the sale of Scottish goods on commission, and, with the Scotsman's pride of ancestry, he claimed and obtained in the court of the Lord Lyon the arms and supporters of the Stirlings of Cadder, chiefs of the name.⁵ James, the youngest brother, purchased the estate of Stair in Ayrshire; and John, who chiefly carried on the family business, acquired the estate of Tillie-Colquhoun, or Tilliechewan, in the Vale of Leven, and built the present Tilliechewan Castle. He also occupied as a town house, first the famous Shawfield Mansion in Trongate, and afterwards the still finer Lainshaw Mansion, which was

⁵ Mitchell, *Old Glasgow Essays*, pp. 2, 8.

purchased by his firm in 1789, and now forms part of the Royal Exchange.

When the country was overwhelmed by the great "slump" of 1816, which followed the Napoleonic wars and our victory at Waterloo, and when the bankruptcies in Glasgow in three months amounted to more than two millions sterling, the great firm came down.⁶ John of Tilliechewan was dead by that time, but his sons, William and George Stirling, set themselves in earnest to bring back prosperity to the industry. They succeeded magnificently, and built up a great business at Cordale and Dalquhurn, which flourished almost without pause for a hundred years, till the "slump" following the Great War, and our victory over the Germans in 1918, again caused their chimneys almost to cease smoking for a time. One of the principal means of that revival was the fortunate acquisition in 1816 of the important process of Turkey Red dyeing, which has since that year had its chief home in the Vale of Leven. The introduction of this process is closely connected with the fortunes of another notable Glasgow family.

⁶ Mitchell, *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 127.

CHAPTER XXXIV

CUDBEAR, TURKEY RED, AND BLEACHING POWDER

A NATURAL sequence to the development of printfields at Glasgow was the provision of dyes for their use. Of these dyes the earliest had a history that is one of the romances of industry.

Among those who left the Highlands to seek fortune in London in the middle of the eighteenth century was a member of the Gordon clan. By trade he was a copper and tinsmith, and one of the jobs he presently got to do was to repair a copper boiler in a dye factory. The specialty of the place was the making of Archella or Orseille dye, an ancient Italian craft said to have been brought to England from Florence. As he went about the factory it dawned upon Gordon that he had seen the process carried out in his own native glen in the Highlands. Its basis was the same crottal, or rock-lichen, which he had gathered when a boy for the dyeing of the sheep's wool at his mother's fireside, and the colour produced, which had enriched the robes of the artistic Florentine and Roman nobles, was in no way different from that which had stained the plaids and arisaids of his own remote ancestors. He consulted a nephew, Cuthbert Gordon, then studying chemistry, who arrived at the same conclusion. Further, in the course of his experiments the young man discovered a process for extracting the dye in concentrated form. To this dye, in honour of the discoverer, they gave his name in a modified style "Cudbear," and, proceeding to Leith, they started works for its manufacture. After a time, probably for want of sufficient capital,

the business proved unsuccessful. Just then, however, it attracted the attention of another Highlander.

George Macintosh was the fourth son of a farmer at Roskeen in Ross-shire, where he was born in 1739. Attracted by the rumour of fortunes being won in Glasgow, he made his way south, and found employment as a junior clerk in the great tannery on the Molendinar. That "prodigious large building," as McUre calls it, not only manufactured leather, it also manufactured shoes, on a great scale, employing in 1773 as many as seven hundred shoemakers ;¹ and a considerable part of the fortunes of its partners, among whom were some of the most notable merchants of the city, such as Speirs of Elderslie, Glassford of Dougalston, Bogle of Daldowie, and Campbell of Clathic, had been realized from the profits of this business. By the time he was thirty-four Macintosh was at the head of a rival enterprise, with five hundred workmen in his shoe factory. He had also an interest in a glasswork, and he engaged to some extent in the West India trade. But he found his most congenial field presently in an undertaking which reminded him of his early home in the north. In the Messrs. Gordon's process of making dye from the lichens of the Highlands he saw the possibilities of a great industry, and forthwith proceeded to turn it to account.

Securing wealthy partners, he in 1777 purchased some seventeen acres of land in the Easter Craigs, beyond the Molendinar, and began the building of Glasgow's first "secret work." The place was surrounded with a ten foot wall ; the mansion which Macintosh built for his own residence within it he named Dunchattan, in allusion to his own clan ; and around him within the walls he established a colony of Highland workmen, some of whom are said to have lived and died there without learning the English language. The Gordons, uncle and nephew, whom he brought from Leith, attended to the actual making of

¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 27th Nov. 1861.



PROVOST ARCHIBALD INGRAM.

Reproduced by permission from the sculpture in the Merchants House of Glasgow.

the cudbear, while Macintosh himself was the business manager. So great became the demand for the dye that the works consumed 250 tons of the lichen annually, the supplies in this country were exhausted, and the supplies from Norway and Sweden rose in price from £3 to £25, and in war times even £45, per ton. These countries are calculated to have received, while their lichen was in demand, as much as £306,000.²

The cudbear industry was liable to a very serious objection. It could not be carried on without the creation of a highly objectionable smell. The neighbourhood of Dunchattan House and Ark Lane was for that reason the least salubrious about the city, and it became a custom, in the drawing up of title-deeds of property in Scotland, to forbid the manufacture of cudbear to the feuar or purchaser.

But cudbear could only be used for the dyeing of silk and wool. It was of no use for cotton fabrics, and as cotton began to be imported in quantities from America, and the great cotton spinning and weaving industry of Glasgow began to grow, it became necessary to discover other means of imparting colour. The most interesting of the new dyes was adrianople or Turkey Red, so called from its oriental origin. The process of dyeing this beautiful colour is believed to have come, first of all, from India. It was unknown in this country till 1785, when George Macintosh brought from France a M. Papillon, who had practised the dyeing of Turkey Red at Rouen. In partnership with his friend, David Dale, Macintosh set up at Barrowfield the first Turkey Red dyework in Britain, and though Papillon left in a couple of years, and accepted payments to explain the process elsewhere, and though the Government announced that it had purchased the secret from another quarter, the Barrowfield works prospered amain, improved their processes, and became another of the great industries of Glasgow. The secret lay in the nature and number of the various baths in which the

² *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. 68.

cotton was steeped to render it capable of absorbing and retaining the actual madder dye, and it was preserved, like the secret of making cudbear, behind high walls. The industry grew, with the growth of the cotton spinning and weaving industry, till the works were acquired in 1805 by one of the greatest of the cotton magnates, Henry Monteith of Carstairs, as an adjunct to his other enterprises.³

It was this process of Turkey Red dyeing, introduced to their works at Cordale in the Vale of Leven in 1816 by William Stirling & Sons, which, as already mentioned, restored with conspicuous success the failing fortunes of that important Glasgow firm.

At the same time, with the growth of the great cotton industry, of which Glasgow was for half a century the headquarters in Britain, came a demand for improved means of bleaching the fabric. The method of bleaching linen, so far, had been primitive enough, and consisted in little more than a slow weathering—exposure to sunshine and the oxygen of the atmosphere. Months were required for the process, and the cloth suffered considerably while this was being carried out. A good deal of bleaching was done on Glasgow Green and the

³ *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, pp. 72-76. George Macintosh was a partner with David Dale in the famous cotton mills of Spinningdale, on the Dornoch Firth. He also took an active part in recruiting for the war against France. His first offer, in 1797, to raise a volunteer corps of Highlanders, was refused by the magistrates, who feared it might interfere with their own efforts. But three years later he helped substantially to fill the ranks of the Gordon Highlanders, of the 133rd and 78th regiments and the North Lowland Fencibles, and after the peace of Amiens, when war with France again broke out, he raised the Glasgow Highland Volunteers, 700 strong. Still later, in 1804, when the Canadian Fencibles mutineered in the city, it was his eloquent appeal, in Gaelic, which brought them back to duty. His wife, Mary Moore, was a sister of the author of *Zeluco* and aunt of Sir John Moore, and his son was the celebrated chemist who in 1786 introduced the making of sugar of lead, in 1797 set up the first Scottish alum work at Hurler in Renfrewshire, in 1799 with Charles Tennant set up the St. Rollox works for making chloride of lime, discovered a process of converting iron into steel, and invented the method of waterproofing cloth which still perpetuates his name.—Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 148 note.

crofts below the Broomielaw. In Holland, to which the finer fabrics were sent for the purpose, there were steepings in soured milk, and boilings in caustic ley, which required months to carry out. A great discovery was that of the bleaching power of chlorine gas, made by Berthollet, the French chemist, but the gas was too volatile and poisonous for industrial purposes. It was known also that lime possessed strong bleaching powers, but its use destroyed the durability of the cloth, and was forbidden by law under heavy penalties. It was left to a young bleacher in the neighbourhood of Glasgow to discover a practical process.⁴

Charles Tennant was the fourth son of a farmer at Glenconner in Ayrshire, who had been present at the baptism of Robert Burns. His eldest brother was the poet's correspondent and "fellow-sinner," and he himself was mentioned in one of Burns's rhyming epistles—

And no' forgettin' wabster Charlie,
I'm tauld he offers very fairly.

"Charlie" soon left the loom and, with a Paisley partner, set up a bleachfield at Darnley, a few miles south of Glasgow. There, it is said, he attracted the attention of a wealthy resident at hand, who noticed his diligence as, early in the morning and late at night, he persevered in his business of watering the cloth spread on the grass to be whitened. This Mr. Wilson of Hurlet invited the young man to his house, and presently Tennant married his daughter, an occurrence which no doubt helped to introduce him to the greater business circles of Glasgow.⁵

By and by the young owner of the bleachfield, prosecuting his enquiries and experiments, made an important discovery. While lime and chlorine gas apart were equally impossible for practical bleaching purposes, he found that they had a special

⁴ *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. 36.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 42.

affinity for each other, and out of this combination he evolved a bleaching liquor which proved entirely successful and satisfactory. By its use the process which had previously required months to carry out could be completed in a few hours.

The economy was prodigious. It is said that in 1789, the year in which the discovery was introduced, no less a sum than £166,800 was saved to the linen bleachers in Ireland alone. In the flush of their gratitude the Trustees for the Promotion of the Irish Linen and Hemp Manufacture of Ireland voted £10,000 to the inventor, but not a penny of it reached Tennant's hands.⁶ Later, in 1802, the bleachers of Lancashire combined to resist the payment for the use of the bleaching liquid demanded under the patent. Lord Ellenborough, who tried the case, declared Tennant's patent invalid by reason of some confusion in its specification, and the fact that one of the materials had been in previous use.

Meantime Tennant, with a number of partners, among whom was Charles Macintosh, son of the introducer of cudbear and Turkey Red, had set up a chemical factory at St. Rollox, to the north of Glasgow. The company secured a new, more carefully worded patent for bleaching powder to replace the bleaching liquor, and, under the energetic direction of the whilom "wabster Charlie," the St. Rollox works grew till they were the largest of their kind in Europe.⁷ Out of these works was built, in the course of half a century, a great family fortune. Charles Tennant's grandson, another Charles, Lord Provost and Member of Parliament for the city, was created a baronet, and his son again received a peerage, taking the title, in allusion to his ancestor's farm in Ayrshire, of Lord Glenconner. One of his descendants became Duchess of Rutland, another Countess of Oxford and Asquith, and a third Lady Colquhoun of Luss.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 29th Jan., 26th Feb., 1801.

⁷ *Curiosities of Citizenship*, p. 40.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE COMING OF COTTON—JAMES MONTEITH AND DAVID DALE

THE revolt of the American colonies in 1775, and the declaration of their independence and the success of their arms which followed, brought the great tobacco trade of Glasgow to an end. The magnitude of the disaster may be judged from the fact that in the year which ended on 5th January, 1772, the amount of the "weed" imported by the merchants of the city had been 46,055,139 lb.,¹ the value of which was about £2,250,000 sterling. In the course of half a century many great businesses, and the fortunes of many families, had been built up on the trade. Latterly, however, a number of the "Tobacco Lords" had invested fortunes in plantations in Virginia. These were confiscated by the Government of the new republic. In consequence several of the great tobacco importing houses, like Buchanan, Hastie & Co. and Andrew Buchanan & Co., came down, and the estates of their partners were sold to pay their debts.² Amid the general ruin and exasperation it is little wonder that the city raised a battalion of men for the purpose of "quelling the present rebellion in America." The "rebels" in America, however, were not put down, the estates of the Glasgow "Tobacco Lords" in Virginia, and the Glasgow tobacco trade itself, were gone for good, and the city had to look elsewhere for its means of livelihood.

Fortunately this means was already in sight. As early as

¹ Gibson's *History of Glasgow*, p. 222.

² *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. 23. *Supra*, p. 293

the year 1752 a new industry had been started by the weaving of cambrics from yarns imported from France. At first the fabric, named after Cambrai, the town of its original manufacture, was made of flax or linen, but soon a fine hard-spun cotton was substituted, and out of this grew the industry which was to be the staple business of Glasgow and the West of Scotland for more than fifty years. In Gibson's list of Glasgow imports for the year 1771 appears the item, "Cotton Wool 59,434 lbs." Of this supply only one hundred pounds came from Virginia; the rest was produced by the islands of the West Indies.³ The rebellion of the American colonies, therefore, did not interrupt this trade, and left the spinners and weavers on this side free to develop the new enterprise. To begin with, the fabric produced was a mixture of linen and cotton, but in 1780 the first web of pure cotton was produced by James Monteith of Anderston, and from that time the trade developed with great rapidity.

It was to the sagacity and ability of James Monteith and his sons that the cotton industry of Glasgow owed its chief impetus in those early years. The Monteiths therefore must be credited with the opening of the second great era of the city's prosperity. The progenitor of the family was a small laird who farmed his own land in the neighbourhood of Aberfoyle. The region, unfortunately, lay within easy reach of the Highland reivers, and as the laird refused to pay "Blackmail," or insurance against plundering, to Rob Roy, his stock of cattle and sheep was carried off again and again, till he was all but ruined, and died of a broken heart. His son Henry, to avoid a like experience, sold his small property, removed to the little village of Anderston, near Glasgow, and began life there as a market gardener.

Peden "the prophet" in Covenanting times, is said to have declared that Anderston Cross should one day become the

³ Gibson, *History*, pp. 213-222.

centre of Glasgow. It was the descendants of the humble market gardener who now settled there who were to give the little cluster of thatched cottages its first lift towards the fulfilment of that prophecy. During the Jacobite rising of 1745, when Glasgow raised two battalions to fight the Highlanders, Henry Monteith shouldered a musket and went out to fight his old enemies. The defeat at Falkirk was a mortification to him till the end of his days. It was this old gardener's son, James Monteith, who gave his family a step to fortune. Handloom weaving then afforded a comfortable subsistence, and Monteith, forsaking the cultivation of syboes and kale, took to this. Next, pursuing the higher branches of the craft, he took to importing the finer yarns from France and Holland, becoming not only the largest importer of these yarns at the time, but a cambric manufacturer on a large scale. He further established a bleach-field beside his own dwelling house and warehouse, at the north-west corner of Bishop Street, about the spot where Bothwell Street now crosses that older thoroughfare.

The cambric industry grew rapidly. From 29,114 yards in 1775 the export from Scotland rose to 83,438 yards in 1784, representing, at an average value of 6s. 6d. no less a sum than £158,577 18s. for the ten years.⁴ Monteith's example was followed by other manufacturers, among them Messrs. Grant & Watson, who established a large factory at Manchester, an ominous departure which led the way in the great migration which ultimately transferred the whole cotton industry to Lancashire.⁵

James Monteith's sons, following in his steps, were helped by circumstances to carry the cotton industry to success on a still greater scale. The chief help to this development was the

⁴ *Curiosities of Citizenship*, p. 97. By 1787 there were 19 cotton mills working in Scotland, by 1834 there were 134, of which 74 were in Lanarkshire and 41 in Renfrewshire.—Mackinnon, *Soc. and Indus. Hist.* p. 117.

⁵ The brothers Grant of this firm are said to have been the originals of Dickens's Cheeryble brothers.—*Curiosities of Citizenship*, p. 100.

power-loom. After a visit to a cotton-spinning mill near Matlock in 1784, the Leicestershire clergyman, Edmund Cartwright, had conceived the idea of a weaving mill, and three years later patented a power-loom. Though Cartwright lost all his wife's fortune and his own in the attempt to run a power-loom mill, his invention was sound. In 1793, Dr. Robertson, an ingenious Glasgow practitioner, brought two looms from the hulks in the Thames, where they were used to employ convict labour, and he set them up in a cellar in Argyle Street, where the power was supplied by a large Newfoundland dog, trained to trot inside a drum. From this it was only a step to the employment of water-power. The owners of a bleachfield at Milton near Bowling set up forty looms driven by this means, and John Monteith, the eldest of the old Anderston weaver's six sons, having seen these, formed a company, and erected at Pollokshaws a factory containing two hundred looms.⁶

The second son, James Monteith, began as a dealer in cotton twist—the material for weaving—at Cambuslang.⁷ By that time the enterprising David Dale was in the field, and had erected a cotton spinning mill at Blantyre on the upper Clyde. In 1792, James Monteith bought this mill. The moment, however, was unfortunate. Within a year, trade and industry everywhere were paralyzed by the effects of the French Revolution. With nothing before him but the prospect of ruin, Monteith went back to David Dale and begged him to cancel the transaction. But Dale would not consent, the bargain must stand. In the emergency, driven by that excellent spur to human effort, stern necessity, the young owner of the spinning mill hit upon a plan. There had recently been set up in London a method of selling linen and cotton cloth by "vendue," or public auction. Monteith bethought him that here was a means of disposing of his yarns if only they were made up into

⁶ Mitchell, *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 380 note.

⁷ Jones's *Directory*, 1789.

cloth. This he proceeded to do, and within five years, while the vogue and possibilities lasted, he realized a fortune of no less than £80,000.⁸

But it was the third of the brothers, Henry Monteith, who was to raise the family to its pinnacle of success. When he was no more than twenty, Henry Monteith was the owner of a great weaving mill in Anderston. Like his brother he was met at first by serious public troubles. In the face of strong competition abroad and at home, it became necessary either to reduce wages or to close the mills. Against any reduction of wages there was an immediate outcry. Glasgow had its first taste of industrial troubles, the contest between brains and brawn which has arisen again and again from that day till this. The weavers' leaders denounced the demand as unjust and oppressive, and endeavoured to secure the passing of an Act of Parliament to fix wages in the industry. When they did not succeed in this, they broke into open riot. In Anderston the malcontents vented their wrath on Henry Monteith by smashing the windows of his warehouse. They even went further, and assaulted the young mill-owner himself—it was the year 1785, and he was no more than twenty-one—by cutting off his queue, an appendage then as necessary to a young man of fashion as the wristlet watch and the cigarette-lighter of to-day.⁹

Another experience which he might have found still greater reason to resent befell him at the instance of the young bloods of Glasgow itself. The ruling clique in the city—"Tobacco Lords," owners of plantations in Virginia and estates at home—were a very exclusive set, with high ideas of their own superiority and importance. Their sons and daughters, with less experience of life, were probably more exclusive still. By these young persons, Henry Monteith, being only the son of an Anderston manufacturer, was not regarded as an equal.

⁸ *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. 112.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 114.

Accordingly when, on one occasion, he presumed to attend an assembly, his appearance was resented, and next day a notice appeared on one of the pillars of the Tontine news-room, intimating that, if the young gentleman who attended the assembly on the previous night appeared at another of these gatherings, he would go out quicker than he came in.¹⁰

But Henry Monteith was destined to go farther than any of these young autocrats. He acted a chief part in the building up of the cotton industry of Glasgow, and incidentally accumulated a handsome fortune. He was chosen Lord Provost in 1815 and 1816, and again in 1819 and 1820. Both of these periods were among the most difficult in the city's history; the first through the ruinous crash which followed Waterloo, the second on account of the Radical risings and riots. Through these crises he steered the affairs of Glasgow with caution and moderation to safety, and so greatly gained public esteem that he was chosen Member of Parliament for the Lanarkshire group of burghs in 1821 and 1831. Following the fashion of so many successful Glasgow men, he purchased the estate of Carstairs, near Lanark, and there, in 1824, built the great mansion which still stands, though it has twice changed ownership since his day. And his dust lies, along with that of most of the burghess aristocracy of the Glasgow of his time, in the Ramshorn churchyard.¹

While the great weaving industry of Glasgow was thus developed by the Monteiths, the business of spinning was developed by a still more remarkable personage. David Dale was the son of a small shopkeeper at Stewarton in Ayrshire, and born in 1739. He began life as a herd boy, was apprenticed to a weaver in Kilmarnock, and in 1763 became a clerk in a Glasgow drapery store. Shrewdly noticing the difficulty experienced by the weavers in procuring yarns, he took to tramp-

¹⁰ *Minute Book of the Board of Green Cloth*, p. 116.

¹ *Curiosities of Citizenship*, p. 115.

ing through the country and buying up the small quantities of linen thread spun by the farmers' wives. From this, he proceeded to the importing of yarn from Holland. In a small shop in Hopkirk's Land, a few doors above the Tolbooth in High Street, which he rented at five pounds yearly, and shared with a watchmaker, he carried on a rapidly growing trade. With a partner, under the firm name of Campbell, Dale & Co., he became a manufacturer of inkle, or linen tape, and as a partner in another company, Dale, Campbell, Reid & Dale, he set up a factory for the production of cloth for the printfields.²

Dale's great opportunity came, however, in 1783. Richard Arkwright, formerly a barber at Bolton, had in 1775 invented a machine for the spinning of yarn, known as the "spinning jenny." In this machine David Dale shrewdly recognized the means of supplying yarns in greater quantities to the weaving factories. Accordingly, when Arkwright paid a visit to Glasgow in 1783, to be banqueted by the city merchants, Dale induced him to make an excursion to the Falls of Clyde at Lanark. There the inventor was sufficiently impressed with the water-power available, and was easily persuaded to join his cicerone in the project of setting up a great spinning mill at the spot. A boggy level in the river gorge was secured from Lord Braxfield,³ and in March, 1786, the famous spinning mills of New Lanark began work.⁴ In five years, four mills were busy on the spot, and 1334 men, women, and children were employed. Among these were two hundred Highland emigrants driven back by stress of weather, and landed destitute at Greenock, as well as other Highlanders, and children from

² *Ibid.* p. 49; *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 41.

³ Stevenson's Weir of Hermiston.

⁴ The New Lanark mills were the second to be set up in Scotland. The first were established by an English company at Rothesay in 1778—Senex, *Old Glasgow*, p. 323. Steam was not used for the driving of a cotton mill till 1792. It was first employed in that year in the mill managed by William Scott at Springfield, near the site of the present Kingston Dock.—*Ibid.* p. 352.

poorhouses and orphan asylums, all of whom Dale fed, clothed, and housed till they attained skill enough to earn their living.

Another venture, farther afield, in which David Dale was concerned, to manufacture yarns for the Glasgow weaving factories, proved less successful. The Highlands just then were hard hit by the change of the times. The old raiding and reiving days were over, and the people had settled down on their small holdings, which were divided and subdivided as children and grandchildren grew up and married. The glens and valleys were ruinously over-peopled, and the poor soil was scourged with crop after crop of oats and barley, till it was not worth sowing. When the crops failed, as they often did in that cold northern region, the people were at once in starvation, and forced sometimes down to the sea beaches to eke out a subsistence from the shellfish of the rocks and sands. With a view to helping these poor people by the introduction of an industry, and also, no doubt, to secure an advantage from the cheapness of labour (an able-bodied man's wage was sixpence to eightpence per day), David Dale and George Macintosh, of Cudbear fame, in 1791 built a village and factory on the Dornoch Firth, to which they gave the name of Spinningdale. Everything seemed to promise success, but the enterprise failed by reason of the habits of the people, who could not be induced to settle down to regular work indoors. It was no work for men, that spinning of thread, when the trout were leaping in the rivers and the black-cock calling on the moor. Spinningdale had to be abandoned. The mill was sold for a trifle to an individual who insured it against fire, and it was burned down shortly afterwards.⁵

David Dale, however, with various partners, established other mills, such as those at Blantyre, at Catrine, at Oban, at Stanley, and the industry of cotton manufacture, of which he was one of the chief founders, became the staple, not of Glasgow

⁵ *Curiosities of Citizenship*, pp. 76-82.

alone, but of every town and village in the West of Scotland.⁶ Richard Arkwright was not far wrong when, on returning to the south after his visit to Lanark with David Dale, and on being twitted with his original occupation as a barber, he told his tormentors that he had put a razor into the hands of a Scotsman who would shave them all.

Curiously enough, both James Monteith and David Dale were, in religious matters, of the type which was to be characteristic of the weaving fraternity in the West of Scotland till the last. Monteith began as an elder in the Anti-Burgher church in the Havannah, which had split from the Original Secession church in Shuttle Street. The Anti-Burghers, however, quarrelled among themselves, and censured him for circulating a pamphlet advocating a more Christian spirit, and for the sin of "promiscuous hearing" when one Sunday, on the way to service, he and his wife were forced by rain to take refuge in the Tron church. Accordingly he headed the little band who in 1770 erected in Anderston a small Relief Kirk. David Dale, again, disapproving of a minister appointed by the Town Council, left the Church of Scotland, and presently, finding none of the existing dissenting bodies exactly to his taste, founded a church of his own, known afterwards as the Old Scotch Independents. For this body a place of worship was erected in Greyfriars Wynd by one Paterson, a candle-maker, and for this reason it was known as "the Caunel Kirk." To the congregation, which grew in numbers and influence, Dale acted as pastor till the end of his life. To qualify for this work he actually taught himself to read the Scriptures in Hebrew and Greek.

Because of his religious practices, Dale was hooted and jostled in the streets, and saw his kirk invaded and the service ridiculed by unruly mobs. But he lived to be acclaimed as a

⁶ By the end of the century Scotland consumed 6,500,000 lb. of cotton and in its manufacture employed 181,753 persons and 312,000 spindles.—*The Industrial Revolution in Scotland*, by Henry Hamilton, 1932.

great public benefactor. For charitable purposes it was said he gave his money "by sho'els fu." and in the years of stress between 1782 and 1799 he chartered ships and imported grain which he sold cheap to the poor.⁷

Besides his spinning mills, David Dale was concerned in many enterprises. Among these was coal-mining in the unlucky Barrowfield, and, along with George Macintosh, as already described, the great Turkey Red dyeing industry in the same region. In 1783, he was entrusted with the first agency of the Royal Bank in Glasgow, and in 1791 and 1794 was chosen a magistrate of the city. Among the public institutions which he helped to found were the Chamber of Commerce, the first of its kind, in 1783, and the Humane Society, of which he was president in 1792 and 1793.⁸ In 1798 he removed bank and store from Hopkirk's Land to the south-east corner of St. Andrew's Square, the new commercial centre of the city, and in his town house in Charlotte Street at hand, built for him by the famous architect Robert Adam, and at his country house, Rosebank, near Cambuslang, he practised a handsome hospitality of which many traditions remain.⁹ When he died at last, in 1806, his funeral was attended by a

⁷ *Curiosities of Citizenship*, p. 55 ; *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 43.

⁸ Cleland's *Annals*, ii. p. 155.

⁹ One notable memory of the Charlotte Street house is recounted by Senex. On 18th November, 1795, Dale had invited a party of distinguished Edinburgh and Glasgow citizens to dine. While arrangements for the feast were being made the waters of the Clyde began to ooze through the floors of the kitchen and other underground apartments. One of the greatest floods of the river had begun. At the same time the Monkland Canal burst its banks, and its waters, pouring down the channel of the Molendinar, submerged the kitchen to a depth of four feet. The servants fled for their lives, but managed to save the materials of the dinner. In the emergency two neighbours lent their kitchens, and the cooking proceeded. The wine cellar also was flooded, but a porter was found, who waded in, breast high, with Dale's eldest daughter, then aged sixteen, on his back, to point out the desired binns. As a result everything was ready for the guests when they arrived, and the mirth of the party was increased rather than diminished by the peculiar circumstances of the occasion.—*Old Glasgow*, p. 119.

great *cortège* of gentle and simple, who laid him among the mercantile aristocracy of the city, by the eastern wall of the Ramshorn Kirkyard.

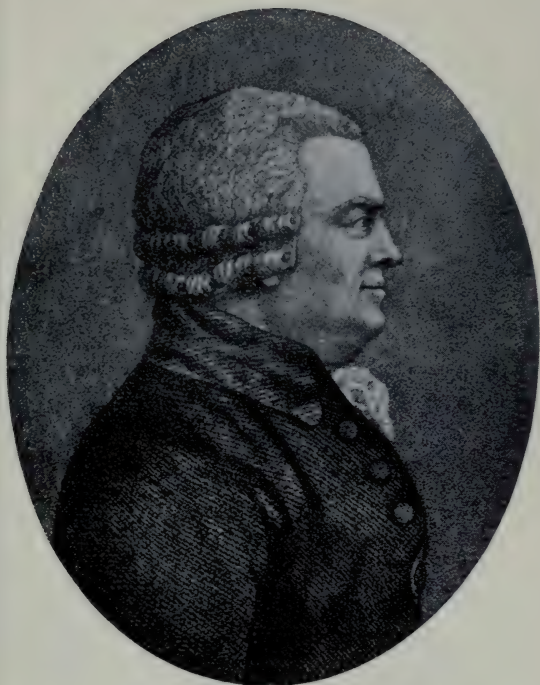
Dale left no son, but the eldest of his five daughters married the Welshman, Robert Owen, whose social experiments at New Lanark and New Orbiston in this country and New Harmony in America remain famous as early attempts at practical Socialism.

CHAPTER XXXVI

PROVOST PATRICK COLQUHOUN AND THE FIRST CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

IN the great debacle of the tobacco trade of Glasgow which followed the revolt of the American colonies there was one man of original ideas who saw the advantages which could hardly fail to accrue from the formation of a parliament of business men devoting its attention to the commercial and industrial interests of Glasgow and the West of Scotland. Owing, perhaps, to the fact that the latter part of his life was spent in London, Patrick Colquhoun has hardly received the honour his services deserved in Glasgow itself. In his ideas and plans he was no doubt ahead of his time, but there can be no question that both the city and the country at large have profited very solidly from the conceptions of his clear and able mind.

A scion of the ancient and honourable family of Luss, Colquhoun was born at Dunbarton in the year of the last Jacobite rising, 1745. At the grammar school there, where he was educated, his father had been a schoolfellow of Tobias Smollett, the novelist. An orphan, at the age of sixteen the lad was sent to Virginia to seek his fortune, and so well did he make use of his opportunities that five years later he was able to return to Glasgow and begin business on his own account. Perhaps there was a sufficiently romantic reason for his early return to Scotland, since, in the same year, though no more than twenty-one, he married a cousin, a daughter of James Colquhoun, Provost of Dunbarton. He prospered greatly in



DAVID DALE, 1739-1806.
From medallion by James Tassie.

business, and in 1777, along with Messrs. Cookson of Newcastle, established at Verreville, near the Broomielaw, the first crystal factory in Scotland.¹ By that time he was taking a notable part in public affairs, and in 1778 he was one of the twelve chief subscribers of funds for raising the Glasgow regiment for suppressing the rebellion in America. Three years later, in 1781, he was one of the chief promoters of that interesting enterprise, the Tontine exchange and assembly rooms, and in the following year he was chosen Lord Provost of the city.² About the same time he purchased part of the estate of Woodcroft on the Kelvin, named his possession Kelvingrove, and built the fine mansion which stood there till 1912, and for many years housed the civic museum now transferred to the neighbouring Art Galleries. Provost Colquhoun's estate to-day forms the greater part of the beautiful Kelvingrove Park.

The achievement by which Colquhoun must be chiefly remembered in Glasgow, however, was the founding of the Chamber of Commerce. The subscription list of that institution contains the names of all the notable citizens of that time in Glasgow, Paisley, Port-Glasgow, and Greenock. Colquhoun signs twice, for himself personally, and "as provost for the town of Glasgow."³ As Chairman at the first meeting of the Chamber in the Town Hall, on 1st January, 1783, he submitted a draft of the proposed constitution, and there can be little doubt that he was himself the originator of the whole scheme. The articles of the constitution outline the purposes of the association. These were—to consider plans and systems for the protection and improvement of the trade and manufactures of the country, especially those interesting to the members; to formulate rules for the guidance of foreign traders; to discuss memorials presented by members on

¹ Mitchell, *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 381.

² *Burgh Records*, 8th Oct., 1881 and on.

³ *Curiosities of Citizenship*, p. 161.

matters of trade or manufacture; to support members in negotiating business with the Board of Trustees, the King's Ministers, or Parliament; to procure redress of grievances suffered by any trade or manufacture carried on by members; to consider all matters affecting the Corn Laws; to take cognizance of everything connected with commerce, to point out new sources of prosperity, to oppose Parliamentary action injurious to Scottish trade and manufacture, to maintain friendly relations with the Convention of Royal Burghs and the Board of Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures, in order to secure the ear of those authorities.⁴

The Glasgow Chamber of Commerce thus founded was the first to be established in the kingdom. It was not till December, 1785, nearly three years later, that Edinburgh followed the example of the western city, and founded its own Chamber. But from the first the institution brought into existence by the foresight of Patrick Colquhoun has continued to exert a most useful influence in guiding and modifying public action and opinion in matters regarding the business interests of the community. Its membership, comprising always the leaders of the city's commerce and industry, has always commanded attention and respect, and in many a commercial crisis its considered, sane opinions have proved of the greatest value.⁵ There can be no doubt that, in the words of its early secretary, Dugald Bannatyne, "the usefulness of the Chamber has been greatly increased by its steadily and undeviatingly confining its attention to questions of a commercial nature, excluding the consideration of other matters, which, however important or interesting, would by their introduction have led to dissension and have ultimately prevented it from fulfilling its

⁴ *Curiosities of Citizenship*, p. 170.

⁵ *The Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, to which so many references have been made in these pages, was published in 1881 by George Stewart, as a memorial volume on the occasion of the approaching centenary of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures, of which he was librarian.

original and peculiar object—of representing the matured opinions of this large and enlightened community on commercial subjects.”⁶

This child of his initiative, to which the city and the country at large have owed so much, was to exert before long a very decisive influence upon the career of Patrick Colquhoun himself. His business energies were chiefly directed to the development of the cotton and muslin industry. Taking counsel with the cotton merchants of Lancashire, he drew up a memorial on certain difficulties of the trade, which he presented to Pitt in 1788. Following this up with a number of prolonged visits to London, he secured the passing of measures which greatly helped the development of the business. He then visited Flanders and Brabant, and opened up a market there for British muslins. For these valuable services he was formally thanked by the cotton manufacturers of Lancashire and Glasgow. Further, in view of his services, he was appointed by the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce to represent the mercantile interests of Glasgow in London, and, proceeding to the south in 1789, he established agencies in London and Ostend for the sale there of Scottish manufactures.

From that time Colquhoun was identified rather with London than with Glasgow. In 1792, through the influence of Henry Dundas, afterwards Viscount Melville, he was appointed a Justice of the Peace for Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, and Essex, and immediately he set himself to the solution of some of the most urgent social problems of the time. In 1794 he published a pamphlet “Observations and Facts relative to Public-houses” which contained many curious particulars of the London liquor trade, with a number of useful suggestions for its regulation. Next, in the same year came “A Plan for affording Relief to the Poor,” who had been forced to pledge their tools during the severe weather and scarcity of that time. This he followed

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 171.

in 1796 with the establishment of a society for carrying out his pamphlet's recommendations. In 1795, when political discontent, inflamed by the revolution in France, and aggravated by the high price of food, was becoming a danger to the state, he took a lead in establishing a soup kitchen in Spitalfields—the first institution of the kind in this country. In connection with this enterprise he published "An Account of the Meat and Soup Charity, with Suggestions as to how a Small Income may be made to go far."

Presently he was to distinguish himself in quite a new field. At that time the police system of the Metropolis was still of a somewhat primitive character. It was the time of the old night-watchmen and Bow Street runners who figure in the literature of the period. Sir Robert Peel, with his institution of a disciplined police—the "peelers" and "bobbies" who took their slang names from his own—was yet thirty years ahead, and the prevention and punishment of crime were still more or less problematical. Colquhoun made a thorough examination of the system or want of system in use, and in three months produced his "Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis." This work, with its many interesting discussions of crime, and with its practical recommendations, attracted immediate attention, and contributed substantially to the development of our modern police system. Among the suggestions which show the modern character of the work are recommendations for the appointment of a public prosecutor and for the employment of convicts on reproductive labour. In recognition of its merits, Glasgow University conferred on the author of the work the degree of Doctor of Laws—in this case more appropriately bestowed than in many instances. The treatise had also another immediate result. At the instance of the London merchants and shipowners and the Government, who all lost heavily by the depredations of river plunderers, Colquhoun devised a further plan for the prevention

of crime. He framed a scheme for a special river police, which worked successfully and proved of the greatest use in protecting property on the Thames. In particular it earned the gratitude of the West Indian planters, and as a result its author was appointed official agent of certain of the West Indian colonies. Later, also, in 1803 the Hanseatic republics of Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburg appointed him their London Resident and Consul General.

Meanwhile in 1798 the ex-Lord Provost of Glasgow had been appointed a stipendiary magistrate at the Queen Square office in Westminster, a position which he continued to hold for twenty years. In that position he came still more closely into touch with the problems of the lower strata of the population. Recognizing the importance of education for the safe solution of social problems he carried on in Westminster a school on Dr. Bell's system, and described its working in a pamphlet—"A New and Appropriate System of Education for the Labouring People." Also in two further pamphlets—"The State of Indigence," published in 1799, and "A Treatise on Indigence" in 1806, he propounded several useful suggestions much in advance of their time—a charity organization society, a savings bank, a Board of Education, a system of reproductive work for the unemployed, a uniform national poor rate, and a recorded description of criminals. In his last and most ambitious work, "A Treatise on the Wealth, Power and Resources of the British Empire in every Quarter of the World," published in the year of Waterloo, he predicted the existence of a great surplus population following the close of the war, and recommended as an outlet and relief the idea, new at that time, of emigration to the colonies of the Empire abroad.

Though so long settled in London, Colquhoun did not forget the country of his birth. When he died at Westminster in 1820 he "mortified" £200 for the poor of certain parishes in

Dunbartonshire.⁷ A monument with an elaborate inscription, in Westminster Abbey, commemorates his many useful and far-sighted activities, and thus sums up his character :—" His mind was fertile in conception, kind and benevolent in disposition, bold and persevering in execution."

Patrick Colquhoun has been called the greatest of the lord provosts of Glasgow, and though so much of his life was spent, and so much of his work done in London, there can be no question that his character and career brought honour throughout to this northern city, and his name must remain notable in its records as that of the founder of two of our most famous and useful institutions.

⁷ Irving, T., 123. In 1818, when Colquhoun retired from the magistracy, an account of his career, from the pen of his son-in-law, Dr. Yates, appeared in the " European Magazine." See also *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 211 note.

CHAPTER XXXVII

GLASGOW IN 1783

THE readiness with which over two hundred well-known merchants and manufacturers signed the document which led to the setting up of Glasgow Chamber of Commerce in 1783 is not difficult to understand. For more than twenty years, since the accession of George III. and the retirement of the elder Pitt, these men of business had seen their interests sacrificed in the doctrinaire schemes of party politics. In particular, during the last seven years, they had seen the territory won in America by Britain's military prowess, and the prosperous trade built up by its business enterprise, thrown away and destroyed by the incompetence and stupidity of politicians. It was time, the projectors of the chamber felt, that a new body should be formed to attend specially to the interests of commerce, and to bring the momentum of united influence to bear in quarters in which the mere appeal of individuals might be disregarded. Among institutions which already existed, the Convention of Royal Burghs was too wide in its scope to perform the particular services required, and the Board of Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures was handicapped by the fact that it was itself under Government control. The Chamber of Commerce had a character and practical purpose of its own ; very wisely it kept strictly to that purpose, and as a result, from that day till the present it has furnished valuable service and proved a powerful influence in protecting and furthering the interests of Glasgow's industry and trade. If proof of this

were needed it might be found in the fact that Chambers of Commerce now exist in every town of consequence in the United Kingdom.

Notwithstanding the convulsion of the American war, Glasgow was at that time unabated in courage, and full of new enterprise. Its great enterprise, of course, was the deepening of the river, but this was already bringing its reward. In 1774, the river tolls and dues were let for as much as £1300.¹ As a result of the improved navigation, and the increasing ability of vessels to sail up the river to the Broomielaw the Town Council felt less need for controlling the affairs of Port-Glasgow. Accordingly it entrusted the inhabitants of that place with the appointment of a bailie and a town council of their own.² Although as late as 1780 the Glasgow newspapers contained advertisements of summer quarters to let in the Rottenrow, and the Deanside or Meadow well, now under the pavement at 88 George Street, was a rural spot,³ the city was extending rapidly. In 1777, the revenue had increased to £6000, and the population which in that year was 43,000⁴ had grown by 1783 to 44,000.⁵ In that year a bill was promoted in parliament to extend the city's royalty over the lands of Ramshorn and Meadowflat recently acquired from Hutchesons' Hospital.⁶ To afford more easy access to the congregations worshipping in the Cathedral or High Church the first lowering of the steep ascent

¹ *Burgh Records*, 19th July.

² *Ibid.* 6th Sept., 1774; 2nd Oct., 1781. The running of Port-Glasgow was, in fact, becoming a rather expensive luxury for the parent city. By 1786 the dry dock there had cost the Town Council £12,041 6s. 4d., and the annual revenue from it was no more than £98, while the harbour had cost £4242 17s. 1d. and its yearly revenue was only £30. The Town Council resolved to sell the dry dock and other Port-Glasgow properties in 1793. The dock, however, was not disposed of till fifteen years later.—(*Burgh Records*, 27th July, 1786; 28th Jan., 1793; 6th Dec., 1804; 13th Feb., 1807; 20th Oct., 1808.)

³ Macgeorge, *Old Glasgow*, p. 145.

⁴ Gibson, *History*, pp. 124, 129.

⁵ *Curiosities of Citizenship*, p. 139.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 22nd Jan.

at the upper part of High Street—the Wyndhead or Bell o' the Brae, famous for the traditional encounter of Sir William Wallace with the English garrison of the Bishop's castle—was effected in 1772,⁷ and in 1779, it was found necessary to provide for the growing population in the Jamaica Street region by building a new church on the site of the ancient chapel of St. Theneū—St. Enoch's Church in St. Enoch's Square.⁸ It is true that in 1780 the Town Council found it advisable to give up the project of the Monkland Canal, as a means of bringing an ample and cheap supply of coal to the city⁹; but in the following year it gave facilities, in the way of a low ground rent, to the enterprise of certain public-spirited citizens for the erection of the new exchange and assembly rooms famous for a hundred years as “the Tontine.”¹⁰ Business was still a leisurely affair. From the small post-office, twelve feet square, in Gibson's Wynd, now Princes Street, letters were delivered through a hole in the wall in the neighbouring close, and packets posted in Glasgow on Saturday did not reach London till the morning of

⁷ *Ibid.* 19th Aug., 1772. A further levelling of the Bell o' the Brae was carried out eleven years later (*Ibid.* 23rd July, 1783).

⁸ 20th Oct., 1779. When St. Enoch's Church was finished the Town Council applied “to have all the churches in the city, not properly erected, put upon the legal establishment.” Previously these churches, except the High Church and the Barony Church, had been parish churches only by presumption of the Town Council.—*Ibid.* 27th Dec., 1781.

⁹ *Ibid.* 28th June, 1780. See *supra*, p. 282.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 19th Oct., 1781: “The Tontine Building,” by C. D. Donald, in *Regality Club Papers*, ii. 75. The “Tontine Society” acquired the shops below and the ground behind the new Town Hall and Assembly Room, with the Assembly Room itself, for an annual ground rent of £180. Additional pieces of ground were afterwards from time to time secured, and the Society built on them a coffee room, with a tavern and hotel, offices for brokers, and a sample room. Ultimately the Society was granted a seal of cause by the Town Council.—*Burgh Records*, 24th Sept., 1781; 5th July, 1784; 19 June, 1792. The new Tontine Hotel and Coffee-room were opened on 13th May, 1784, with the most splendid ball that had ever been given in Glasgow. The guests included the Lords of Justiciary then in the city, with most of the Glasgow aristocracy, and the nobility and gentry of the neighbouring counties.—Senex, *Old Glasgow*, p. 303.

the following Thursday.¹¹ At the same time the stage coach which set out from the Black Bull Inn for Edinburgh on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, took a whole day to reach that place.¹ It was not till 7th July, 1788, that the first stage coach direct from London, with its four sweating horses, drew up at the gateway of the Saracen's Head Inn.² Nevertheless it is significant that in 1783, the year in which the Chamber of Commerce was established, the first Glasgow directory, Tait's, was published. Like McUre's *History*, of half a century's earlier date, that little volume is one of the prizes of the book collector to-day. Also, in the same year a newspaper was started which was destined to outlive all its Glasgow contemporaries. The *Glasgow Journal* started in 1741, of whose pusillanimous first editor mention has already been made, was still doing well. Of later date were the short-lived *Glasgow Courant* of 1747, with the *Chronicle* of 1766, and the *Mercury* of 1775, when in 1783 John Mennons, an Edinburgh printer, migrating to Glasgow, started *The Glasgow Advertiser*. In 1801 the paper changed its name to *The Glasgow Herald*, under which title it thrives as a leader of thought and mirror of the interests of the West of Scotland at the present time.³

The newspapers of the day were not without local events of importance to report, and two of these which occurred in 1782, offered serious interruption to the regular life of the city. In

¹¹ *Glasgow Past and Present*, ii. 104. *Glasgow Mercury*, 13th Nov., 1782. It was only in 1781 that the Town Council took steps to have a direct post from London, via Carlisle and Moffat, to arrive in Glasgow as early as the post arrived in Edinburgh, and to have six posts from London weekly, as Carlisle and Dumfries already had. By this means Glasgow would receive its letters from London on the afternoon of the fourth day.—*Burgh Records*, 28th Sept., 1781; 2nd April, 1782.

¹ MacGeorge, *Old Glasgow*, p. 276.

² Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 162. The journey could then be done in sixty hours. Twenty-five years earlier the monthly coach from London to Edinburgh took eighteen days to the journey.

³ Michael Graham, *The Early Glasgow Press*. MacGeorge, p. 285. Mac-kinnon, *Social and Industrial History of Scotland*, p. 202.

that year took place the greatest Clyde flood on record. In the Briggate the water rose till it stood three feet deep at the west end and nine feet deep at the east end.⁴

Inconvenient and disagreeable as this occurrence must have been, it was far exceeded in seriousness and results by an event of another sort. This was one of the earliest of the serious clashes between employers and employed which from first to last have been the most regrettable features of industrial life in this country. Attracted by the high wages paid in the cotton spinning and weaving industry, considerable numbers of Highlanders and other country folk had made their way to Glasgow. No great amount of training was needed for the work, and by reason of the abundant supply of labour wages fell. To resist this fall the workers combined, and, on the masters refusing their demands, they struck work. Something like the modern "picketing" was done, for the strikers forced their fellows who had accepted piecework on the masters' terms either to return the cotton or burn it. The trouble reached its climax with a riot in the streets, in which the military were called out to restore order, something like a pitched battle was fought in Duke Street, and several workmen were killed. A number of others were arrested and punished, and the movement collapsed.⁵ It was in a similar riot three years later that, as already mentioned, Henry Monteith was attacked, and suffered the indignity of having his queue cut off by his assailants. From that time onward, indeed, mobs and riots took

⁴ Until the lower channel of the river was deepened the lower parts of the city were frequently submerged by serious floods. In 1712 the inhabitants of Briggate and Saltmarket had to be taken off in boats. In 1746 the whole of the Laigh Green was covered. In 1782 provisions were delivered by boat in King Street and Briggate, the river rose twenty feet, and the village of Gorbals became an island. In 1808 the flood ran like a mill-race, and a young man navigating a boat over Glasgow Green was drowned. In 1816 the Clyde rose seventeen feet, and the Green was again submerged.—Macgeorge, *Old Glasgow*, p. 238; Senex, *Glasgow Past and Present*, i. 81, 82; *Old Glasgow and its Environs*, pp. 60 and 119; *Scots Magazine*, 14th March, 1782. *Supra*, p. 318.

⁵ Mackinnon, *Social and Industrial History*, p. 160.

place at rather frequent intervals—a result of the new industrialized conditions in the city. Thus in 1787 the magistrates gave to each of the soldiers employed in quelling a recent riot a pair of stockings and a pair of shoes, and in the following year they paid £11 19s. for repairing window shutters and glass broken by a mob at the cotton mill of Spreull, McCaul & Company in John Street.⁶

Such occurrences were among the results of a new order of things which the promoters of the Chamber of Commerce no doubt felt might to some extent be regulated by the institution which they proposed.

The promotion of the Chamber was also possibly quickened by the opportunity which just then arose for revision and improvement of the bankruptcy law. In 1782 the old law was about to lapse, and in the absence of a body better adapted to deal with the matter the Town Council took action. Under the guidance of Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, the celebrated banker, and James Ritchie of Busby, one of the “four young men” of Glasgow merchant fame, it appealed for a law requiring a full and fair surrender of bankrupt estates, including the heritable property of merchants and traders, the abolishing of unjust preferences, the vesting of management in the creditors alone, and the grant of a discharge to a fair bankrupt.⁷ From these suggestions something may be gathered of the shortcomings of the law previously existing with regard to bankruptcy in Scotland.

Just then the affairs of Glasgow were threatened with a further complication. Following the surrender of Lord Cornwallis and his whole British army to the Americans under Washington at Yorktown in March, 1782, the downfall of Britain seemed at hand. Ireland, with forty thousand volunteers in arms, was clamouring for independence, and Britain

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 27th Sept., 1787; Macgregor's *History of Glasgow*, p. 371.

⁷ *Ibid.* 5th March, 1782.

was without a soldier to oppose an invasion. In the emergency the new British Government called upon the principal towns to arm their inhabitants, and the Lord Provost of Glasgow, Patrick Colquhoun, received a letter from Lord Shelburne, desiring the Town Council to take measures for that purpose.⁸ The request cannot be said to have been received with enthusiasm by the main body of the citizens, who seemed to regard any interruption of their business pursuits as a matter not to be thought of. They also regarded the enrolment of manual workers as undesirable, probably for the same reason. The Lord Provost, however, informed Lord Shelburne that a number of the younger inhabitants, who could afford to buy arms and to spend time in learning military exercises, were willing to take up the project.⁹ At the same time, as if to gloss over this rather lukewarm compliance, the inhabitants declared their resolution "to give their firm and steady support to Government, more especially in times of difficulty and danger"; Lord Shelburne, his son, and his chaplain were made honorary burgesses of the city, and the Town Council increased its offer of bounty to seamen joining the royal navy to £3 3s. for an A.B., £2 2s. for an ordinary seaman, and £1 1s. for a landsman.¹⁰

A few months later, when the Government proposed to meet the difficulty by raising a militia, the Town Council appealed to the Royal Burghs of Scotland to oppose the bill in parliament, on the ground that it was against the interests of the manufacturers.¹ In this matter the community of Glasgow does not make a very heroic appearance.

Fortunately, however, the crisis in the nation's affairs had already passed. A month after the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, Admiral Rodney had secured the seas for Britain by his great victory over De Grasse and the French fleet in the West Indies, the demands of Ireland had been

⁸ *Ibid.* 12th June, 1782.

⁹ *Ibid.* 26th June, 1782.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 26th June, 22th July, 1782.

¹ *Ibid.* 9th and 29th Jan., 1783.

settled by the grant of a separate parliament in Dublin, Sir John Elliot had defied and defeated the attempt of France and Spain to storm Gibraltar, by the agency of Oswald of Auchen-cruive the preliminaries of a treaty of peace with the United States of America had been signed, and an end of the war with the European powers was in sight. Though the Bourbon courts believed that Britain's position as a world power was at an end, the fact was really exactly the opposite. Through the flash of inspiration which had come to James Watt on Glasgow Green, this country was on the eve of becoming the great manufacturing workshop of the world. The younger Pitt had entered parliament, and in December 1783, at the age of 24, became prime minister, and began a career which was to steer the nation triumphantly through all the perils of Revolution in Europe.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

HARD TIMES, TOWN PLANNING, AND INSTITUTION BUILDING

"IT was discovered early in this period," says Jupiter Carlyle, "that the revolt and final disjunction of our American colonies was no loss to Great Britain, either in respect of commerce or war."¹ Meanwhile, just before the war ended, there was much serious distress in Glasgow. In rural districts the population lives largely by the produce of its own exertions in field and farmyard, and is not immediately reduced to destitution by political events. In cities, on the contrary, the inhabitants depend on the wages of trade and industry, and any interruption of these organizations brings inevitable want. The winter of 1782 was a hard one in Glasgow. America, the chief market for the city's manufactures, was closed, and the industries which depended upon that market had been slowed down. Though there were still hay stacks not far from the Trongate the city was no longer the half rustic place of John McUre's time, in which every family had a cow that grazed at the Cowcaddens or on the New Green. When wages stopped at the Nailree, the Delft factory, the Glasswork, and the cotton mills, the pinch was felt at once. The citizens, however, rose to the occasion, as they have done on every similar occasion since. A public fund was started, the Town Council, the Merchants House, and the Trades House each subscribed £200 sterling, and quantities of oatmeal, wheat, and pease were brought in and distributed at low prices to the industrious poor.² Among

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 532. ² *Burgh Records*, 31st Dec., 1782; 9th Jan., 1783.

other supplies, the Lord Provost, Patrick Colquhoun, ordered from Ireland a consignment of harts and shirts. These, valued at £230 18s. 9d., Irish money, were packed in sixty casks, but unfortunately the vessel with its cargo was entirely lost.³ Further, to cheapen grain, the Town Council asked that the Convention of Burghs should request the Government to stop for a time the use of barley for distilling purposes.⁴ So serious became the distress that in March the city had to grant three bonds of £2000 each for money to purchase grain.

A chief figure in these transactions, and in general dealing with the poor of the city was one of the city ministers, Dr. William Porteous. A rather invidious task which was set him in 1782 was that of preventing poor strangers from settling in the city for such time as might entitle them to the city's charity. The appointment was for three years,⁵ and so well did he fulfil his instructions that he came to be known as "Buff the Beggars." But the real value of his services—"his uncommon exertions, skill, and ability in suggesting, framing, and completing a system whereby the poor entitled to the charity of the community are more comfortably provided, and strange and vagrant paupers prevented from establishing settlements in this city"—was recognized by the Town Council, which presented him with a piece of plate of the value of forty guineas.⁶ He was afterwards the originator of Sunday Schools in the city, helped to found the Society of Sons of Ministers, and was one of the committee which carried out the feuing of the High Church glebe in the neighbourhood of the present Glebe Street.⁷

A more permanent institution for the relief of the poor which owed its origin to the distress of that time was the Royal

³ *Burgh Records*, 4th Oct., 1784.

⁴ *Ibid.* 9th Jan., 1783.

⁵ *Ibid.* 14th Aug.

⁶ *Ibid.* 15th Jan.

⁷ *Ibid.* 27th Sept., 1787; 29th Nov., 1790; 1st April, 1791; 9th Sept., 1793. Interesting details of the person and career of Dr. Porteous are furnished by Dr. Strang in *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 367.

Infirmary. The idea was propounded in a letter from one of the physicians in the city, Dr. Stevenson, to the Town Council, stating that a subscription was on foot for the erection of "an infirmary for the reception of indigent persons under bodily distress in the West of Scotland," and expressing the hope that the magistrates would take it under their protection. The Town Council gave the scheme not only its patronage, but a subscription of £500. No time was lost. Already in 1784 the town had been making enquiry regarding the ownership of the ruins of the ancient Bishop's Castle near the Cathedral, with a view to having the site vested in the magistrates and council. This was now secured; a royal charter was obtained, and on the spot associated with the warlike deeds and church pageantry of an earlier time arose the greatest of Glasgow's institutions for the alleviation of suffering and pain. Among his many activities, David Dale found time to act as manager of the infirmary for the first few years, and only retired in 1796 on account of his health.⁸

But the distress of that time and the increase of an industrial population had also another and less happy result. In such circumstances a criminal element invariably comes into evidence. Owing to the increase of petty thefts and other crimes, the prison at the Tolbooth now became too small. The Town Council therefore in 1785 fitted up a number of cells at the rear of the Town's Hospital or poorshouse by the Clyde side, where offenders were to be punished with hard labour. Three years later part of the city's granary was fitted with cells and a work-room as a bridewell or reformatory for the correction of idle and disorderly persons. These, however, were more or less temporary expedients. So serious, evidently, was the state of affairs that the Trades House urged the Town Council to build a bridewell upon an extensive scale. In consequence a number

⁸ *Ibid.* 15th Jan., 1784; 4th Dec., 1786; 8th Mar., 1787; 19th Jan., 19th Sept., 10th Dec., 1792; 31st Dec., 1795.

of devices were considered. It was not, however, till 1795 that the town acquired a site on the south side of Drygate, and began the building of the place of correction and punishment represented by the grim fortress-like Glasgow Prison of to-day.⁹

Confinement in these later prisons, it may be gathered, was a more serious matter than in the old Tolbooth. The jailer in the Tolbooth did quite a good business in the sale of liquid refreshment to his prisoners. In 1786 when he was prohibited from selling "ale, porter, spirits, or liquors of any kind" to these prisoners his annual profit from this source was reckoned at £40, and he was compensated to that amount accordingly. A later jailer in 1791 estimated his loss from this source at £121. He was then allowed to continue selling porter and beer, though the sale of spirits was stopped.¹⁰

Evidently the task of preserving order and protecting property was giving the magistrates considerable anxiety. In 1783 they proposed to ask parliament for authority to appoint from twenty-five to forty watchmen to patrol the streets in the night time, but as the project implied a charge of sixpence in the pound on the rents of the citizens it was not carried out.¹ Five years later the magistrates decided that, with their many other duties, they were no longer able to carry on the police work of the city on the patriarchal plan, personally directing the arrest of evil-doers and disturbers of the peace. They therefore appointed an intendant or inspector of police, with a clerk and eight men under him, for the special business of preventing crime and arresting criminals. An ex-bailie, Richard Marshall, was appointed inspector, and for a police office he was assigned "the low back room in the ground storey of the town clerk's chamber." He was provided with a gold chain, and was

⁹ *Burgh Records*, 20th Jan., 1785; 29th Oct., 10th Dec., 1788; Vol. viii. p. 698.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 11th Jan., 1786; 15th June, 19th Sept., 1791.

¹ *Ibid.* 12th and 28th Feb., 1783.

directed to carry a white rod when on duty, while his men were to wear a red uniform with badges numbered and inscribed "Police." The men had to take an oath, and find caution to the amount of £50 each for their good behaviour, and their remuneration was to be not more than 1s. 6d. per day. Thus modestly was begun the police force of Glasgow which to-day forms an army of over two thousand officers and men.²

The tiny police force of 1788, however, was obviously too small to protect the persons and property of the citizens both by day and night. The Town Council therefore revived its idea of a civic guard of the townsmen themselves, avoiding the obstacle of expense by making the duty compulsory and without pay. All citizens under sixty years of age and above sixteen, whose yearly rents were £3 sterling or more, were summoned in rotation, to the number of thirty each night, to meet in the "laigh council chamber" and patrol the city in parties of eight from ten o'clock at night till the following morning. The guard was under the command of the sitting magistrate, with a captain and other officers, and it seems to have served its purpose efficiently enough. The duty could be avoided by the payment of 2s. 6d. sterling for the payment of a substitute, and it may be presumed that a large part of the guard very soon came to consist of these substitutes, permanently employed.³

While these arrangements were being made the great convulsion of the French Revolution of 1789 broke out. In Glasgow this was taken at first as the dawn of a new and better era. Professor Anderson, the patron of James Watt, sent over an artillery device which was accepted by the Republic, and a subscription of £1200 was raised among the citizens to aid the Government of Paris in its war against the emigrant princes.⁴ It was in the flush of the same generous sentiment that Robert

² *Ibid.* 26th Nov., 10th Dec., 1788.

³ *Ibid.* 27th Dec., 1790.

⁴ Forbes, *Memoirs of a Banking House*.

Burns got into trouble with his superiors in the Excise, when he presented the French revolutionaries with the guns he had captured from a smuggling brig on the Solway. But presently it began to be seen that a savage beast had broken loose, and would, if unchecked, tear civilization itself to pieces. In Ireland, India, and Britain itself the agents of France were found sowing the seeds of anarchy and revolution. The execution of Louis XVI. and his queen, and the ghastly September massacres in Paris, struck this country with horror, and when France, mistaking Pitt's pacifist policy for weakness, declared war in February, 1793, Britain was thoroughly roused. The worst of the panic was seen in Scotland. Among others accused of sedition, the young advocate, Thomas Muir, son of a Glasgow merchant, owner of the small estate of Huntershill in Cadder parish, was tried and sentenced to fourteen years transportation to Botany Bay. He had become prominent as an orator of the association known as "The Friends of the Constitution and of the People."⁵ Glasgow Town Council passed a special resolution against factious meetings and seditious writings, which it ordered to be published in the London, Edinburgh, and Glasgow newspapers; and it presented an address to the King, declaring its abhorrence of attempts to overturn the Government, and condemning the attempt of France "to disseminate her destructive principles and to aggrandise herself on the ruin of every established and well-regulated government in Europe."⁶

The revolutionaries and reformers, however, proved to be only a handful; the panic soon subsided, and the country rose nobly to meet the emergency. Within a few months no fewer than eight new regiments were raised in the Highlands, as well as fourteen battalions of "Fencibles," a militia enlisted for special service and local defence. Several of our most famous

⁵ *Glasgow Mercury*, 9th and 30th Oct., 1792.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 10th Dec., 1792; 27th Feb., 1793.

Scottish regiments came into existence at that time, among others the Cameron Highlanders and the Gay Gordons, recruited by the famous Duchess with a guinea and a kiss for each recruit.

While these events were taking place a succession of military forces were quartered in Glasgow. By way of lodging, officers and men were billeted on the citizens, and this proceeding was felt to be a very real grievance. Occupants of houses rented at more than £20 were liable to have two soldiers quartered upon them for no less a period than eight weeks. Certain classes, such as the procurators, claimed exemption, but the difficulty was only overcome when on the suggestion of Aberdeen the Town Council joined with that city in asking that the Government should build barracks in both places. In the end the city gave the ground and the Government built the barracks.⁷ Curiously enough, the site on the north side of Gallowgate was that of the ancient Butts, or archery ground, scene of the fierce battle between the Earls of Arran and Glencairn for possession of the bailiesship of Glasgow in 1544.

Previous to the building of these barracks the military headquarters of the city were at the Guardhouse in Candleriggs.⁸ In 1794, the year in which the barracks were built, that Guardhouse was the scene of a serious riot, in which the soldiers themselves made the trouble. The first battalion of the newly raised Breadalbane Fencibles was then quartered in the city. A deserter of the battalion, who had escaped from the Guardhouse, was recaptured, and sentenced to a severe punishment. This his comrades determined to prevent, and, defying authority, they actually stood out for several days, and, as the mob

⁷ *Ibid.* 30th Aug., 20th Oct., 1788; 18th Oct., 1790; 22nd March, 18th June, 1792; 4th March, 1794.

⁸ Previous to 1789 the Guardhouse stood, a somewhat imposing building, at the foot of the street on the west side. In that year, as a valuable site, it was sold for £1400 to James MacLehose, who erected a new Guardhouse on the Green market farther up the street.—*Burgh Records*, 15th June, 1789.

took their part, the riot assumed dangerous proportions. Part of the battalion, however, remained loyal to its officers, and the Royal Glasgow Volunteers, a force then being raised in the city by Colonel Montgomery, also backed the civil authorities. But it was not till Colonel Hugonin, at the head of the Fourth Dragoons, rode into the city on the evening of 16th December that the riot was effectively quelled, and the mutineers surrendered. Lord Breadalbane sent them to Edinburgh for trial, and himself accompanied them part of the way. But on his return, along with Major Leslie, the mob rose again, assailed him with stones, and forced him to take refuge in a house, till the Lord Provost and magistrates, with a force of officers, hastening to the spot, rescued him and dispelled the rioters.⁹

It was probably in anticipation of some such troubles that, only a month previously, a body of respectable citizens had offered their services to assist the magistrates of the city "in supporting peace and good order, and suppressing seditious insurrections and tumults." Their services were accepted as special constables, and it is not unlikely that they took part in suppressing the riot.¹⁰

Still another building which owed its erection to the demands and developments of that time was the new Grammar School. For over two hundred years this school had carried on its work in the Greyfriars Wynd, the site of the old Greyfriars monastery on the west side of High Street. From the first its interests and the quality of its teaching had been carefully fostered by the Town Council, which exercised its powers of appointing and discharging its teachers, or "doctors" as they were long called, with great discretion. Thus in 1782, when the number of scholars had notably increased, the city fathers tackled the situation with energy. They abolished the office

⁹ *Scots Magazine*, Dec. 1794, pp. 799, 800. MacGregor's *History of Glasgow*, p. 378. *Burgh Records*, 20th Dec., 1794.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 13th Nov., 1794.

of rector as unnecessary, gave all the four masters equal status, appointed the master of the oldest class at the time to preside in the common hall, and to have a casting vote, and arranged that a committee of the Council, "accompanied with some gentlemen of learning," should visit the school every month, to report upon its progress, and ensure uniformity of teaching. The regenting system in former use at the University was adopted, one master enrolling all the new pupils each year, and carrying them through their entire four years' course. If any class exceeded fifty in number the teacher of that class was obliged to give an hour's longer tuition each day to one-third of the number—the worst scholars.

A little later the Council gave a piece of the Ramshorn ground for a new school, to be erected by public subscription, in which there should be rooms for the teaching of French, arithmetic, and book-keeping—subjects not included in the older Grammar School curriculum, but rendered necessary by the new commercial conditions of the city's life. The building of the new school was finished in 1792, and teachers and scholars moved to class-rooms on the pleasant hillside above the Ramshorn Church.¹

Meanwhile, the city fathers developed to a high degree the art of "town planning" of which so much is said as if it were a discovery peculiar to the twentieth century. The making of new streets went steadily on. Sometimes this was a difficult enterprise, when portions of private properties had to be acquired, by purchase or excambion. But it must be said that very few owners gave trouble; in nearly every case the value

¹ *Ibid.* 13th May, 26th June, 1782; 26th Mar., 1783; 4th Dec., 1786; 25th April, 1787; 22nd March, 9th Aug., 1792. The original site of the new school was on the line of the present George Street. The buildings there, however, became too small, and the school removed to the ground behind, with an entrance from John Street, while the George Street building was taken over by Anderson's College. The site of both schools is now occupied by the Royal Technical College.—See *infra*, chap. xlii. Also *Burgh Records*, 16th and 21st Oct., 1807.

was settled by friendly bargain or arbitration. Thus, on its own ground of the Ramshorn, in 1782, the Town Council planned the lay-out of George Square and the streets on the east of it as far as Montrose Street, and calculated that the ground devoted to the open square, some 11,360 yards, would be more than paid for by the increased price to be got for the building space around it. This price varied from 1s. to 2s. 6d. per square yard, and was calculated to realize a very handsome profit for the city. Restrictions were placed upon the ground thus feued or sold, so that it should remain a residential area. A natural feature which gave some trouble was a narrow ridge of whinstone which ran from east to west along the south side of the Ramshorn ground. This obstructed the natural drainage of the region till it was cut through at a number of places.²

In accordance with the Town Council's plan, George Street was laid out along the north side of the square, and eastward between the new Grammar School and the Ramshorn burying-ground, till it met another new road coming westward from Carntyne, and now known as Duke Street, while another street at right angle to this, running from Ingram Street northward past the Grammar School to Rottenrow was laid out and named John Street, from, it is said, the christian names of the Lord Provost, the three bailies, and perhaps the master of work, the water bailie, and the two town clerks, of the year 1785, who all rejoiced in bearing the name of the favourite apostle.

Till 1794 the lower part of Montrose Street was still known as Inkle Street, from the inkle factory at its south-western corner; Cochrane Street, then re-named from the famous provost of 1745, was still partly Cotton Street and partly St. David's Street, and Hanover Street south of George Square was still Pitt Street.³

² *Burgh Records*, 14th Aug., 1782; 5th April, 15th May, 1786. See plan at end of *Burgh Records*, vol. viii.

³ *Ibid.* 4th Sept. 1802. The dates of opening of a large number of streets at this time are furnished by Strang in *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 342 note.

In another quarter, on the east side of Saltmarket, the Town Council, immediately after completing the last purchase of ground necessary for the purpose, proceeded to lay out a square round St. Andrew's Church. The frontage of the buildings was designed by William Hamilton, an architect of repute, and the first stance was taken by David Dale. It was that in the south-east corner, to which he presently transferred the office of the Royal Bank. The price he paid was 7s. 6d. per square yard.⁴

These town planning schemes of the civic authorities of those years were well seconded by the activities of a private company or building society organized in 1786 by Dugald Bannatyne, a stocking-manufacturer, who afterwards became postmaster and secretary of the Chamber of Commerce. This company built the greater part of Brunswick Street, Hutcheson Street, John Street, and George Square.⁵ It expended £12,000 on the enterprise,⁶ and was the first of the many firms of speculative builders who, from that day till this, have extended the area of the city and provided dwellings for the citizens by their enterprising schemes.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 28th Dec., 1786 ; 30th Jan., 1787. Hamilton was paid £21 for his plans (*Ibid.* 6th Feb., 1787).

⁵ *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, pp. 133, 175. *Burgh Records*, 29th Jan., 1801.

⁶ Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 153.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE EIGHTIES AND NINETIES

AMID all the disturbances and convulsions of that time the development of Glasgow somehow went steadily on. It was the time, as we have seen, of the rise of the great cotton spinning and weaving industry which was to remain a staple of Glasgow business for several generations, till another American war, the civil conflict of 1863 between the States themselves, put a stop to supplies. In view of his services to this industry, Richard Arkwright was made an honorary burgess and guild brother of the city in 1784.¹ Cuthbert Gordon, also, the inventor of the process for making cudbear, was, on the petition of the dyers and manufacturers, recommended to parliament for recognition and encouragement. Besides his original invention, it appears, he had "produced in cotton the colour known by the name Nankeen, from the most common to the highest red, which has hitherto defied all Europe, the Hindoo and golden yellows, blues and greys of a variety of shades, and a beautiful red, superior to madder and nearly equal to that of the India red, even in its wild and uncultivated state."²

An inventor, in another field, who also excited attention in Glasgow, was Lunardi, the aeronaut. That famous balloonist made two ascents from Glasgow, in November and December 1785. As a preliminary his balloon was exhibited, at a charge of one shilling, in the middle space of the cathedral, between the choir and the nave, and the ascents were made from St.

¹ *Burgh Records*, 1st Oct., 1784.

² *Ibid.* 15th Jan., 1784.

Andrew's Square. On the first occasion he descended in the neighbourhood of Hawick, and on the second in the parish of Campsie.³

When in the city on that occasion, Lunardi would have the pleasure of listening to the "music bells," newly rearranged in the tolbooth steeple, on which Joshua Campbell, musician, and John Gardner, mathematical instrument maker, had lately been engaged. The bells were played like a musical-box, by means of a barrel, pegged on its revolving surface, and a different set of tunes was arranged for each day of the week.⁴ These were the bells which brought Glasgow the reputation enshrined in the rhyme—

Glasgow for bells, Linlithgow for wells,
And Fa'kirk for bonnie lasses !

In the following year a change that was destined to take place in social customs was marked by the establishment of the first licensed distillery in Glasgow, that of William Menzies, first of a family which from that day till this has been engaged in the industry. Previously there were only three distilleries in Scotland, Burns's "dear Kilbagie" and two others.⁵ Formerly, while claret was the drink of gentlemen and ale of ordinary folk, the more potent spirit in request was French brandy. The distilling of whisky, like the making of cudbear, was an industry imported from the Highlands, and the spirit was destined to grow in use till it became recognized as the national beverage of Scotland.

An industry introduced to Glasgow in the same year, which on the other hand owed its origin on a great scale in Scotland to an Englishman, was the smelting of iron in the blast furnace. From early times, iron had been smelted in small quantities in the ovens known as bloomeries, of which traces are to be found

³ Senex, *Old Glasgow*, p. 238.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 5th Oct., 1785.

⁵ Mitchell, *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 382.

on many of the Scottish moors. The bloomeries were succeeded by the larger furnaces at Furnace on Loch Fyne and Taynuilt on Loch Etive, started by an English company in 1754. These furnaces were lit only every twenty years, when the woods of the respective neighbourhoods had grown enough to furnish the necessary charcoal. The ore they smelted came from England, and the iron they produced was sent back there.⁶ Down to the year 1760, when George III. became king, nearly all the iron used in Scotland was imported from Sweden and Russia, and the Glasgow Nailerie, or Smithfield Company, with its slit mill on the Kelvin and its workshop near the Broomielaw, made only small articles, such as spades and hammers. It was only in 1760 that the first Scottish blast furnaces were established. These were erected on the Carron in Stirlingshire by Dr. John Roebuck, a Sheffield man who had studied medicine at Edinburgh and Leyden, and carried on a chemical laboratory at Birmingham and a manufacture of sulphuric acid at Prestonpans.⁷ They smelted partly Scottish and partly English ore, and after 1762 used pit coal for the purpose. They used their whole output for their own foundry products, and the cast-iron guns they made, known as "carronades," were used on every British battlefield of the time.

Following the example of Carron, and encouraged by the existence of iron ore and coal in the district, Thomas Edington in 1786 founded the Clyde Ironworks at Tollcross, to the east of Glasgow.⁸ These furnaces were followed by others at various places, including Govanhill to the south of the city, and were the beginning of the great iron industry of the West of Scotland, which brought wealth and employment to the whole region, till the business was ruined by the disastrous General Strike of

⁶ Mitchell, *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 294.

⁷ Jupiter Carlyle, *Autobiography*, p. 365. Roebuck's partners in the enterprise were Samuel Garbett, a Birmingham merchant, and William Cadell, a Cockenzie shipowner.

⁸ Mitchell, pp. 295 and 382.

1926. Mushet's discovery in Lanarkshire of the rich deposits of black band ironstone, an ore which almost smelted itself, and the invention in 1829, by James Beaumont Neilson, manager of Glasgow Gaswork, of the hot-blast, which turned the waste gases and heat of the furnaces to further account, made this iron industry the greatest in the world, and for a century, till the tops of the furnaces were closed, in order to save the gases, the flare at night made a striking feature of the landscape. Alexander Rodger, the "Radical poet," celebrated the effect in his spirited lines, addressed to the owner of Clyde Ironworks, in his time :—

The mune does fu' weel when the mune's i' the lift,
 But oh, the loose limmer tak's mony a shift,
 Whiles here and whiles there, and whiles under a hap—
 But yours is the steady light, Colin Dulap !
 Na, mair—like true frien'ship, the mirker the night
 The mair you let out your vast columns o' light ;
 When sackcloth and sadness the heavens enwrap,
 'Tis then you're maist kind to us, Colin Dulap.

Still later, Alexander Smith, in his fine poem, "Glasgow," described

The roar and flap of foundry fires
 That shake with light the sleeping shires.

In Clyde Ironworks were cast many of the cannon used at Waterloo.

Those were the years in which Glasgow became notably an industrial city. After 1775, when James Watt and his partner, Boulton, became able to supply steam engines freely for mills and general manufacturing purposes, the owners of Glasgow factories in constantly increasing numbers adopted steam as their motive power. With the consequent growth of an industrial population the severance between the interests of town and country began which has been a feature of social and political life from that day till this. The tendency was seen almost at

once in the attitude of Glasgow towards the proposed Corn Law. That law was, to begin with, a tax by Government for the raising of revenue. But it was also intended for the encouragement of land reclamation and agriculture, then in a very backward state. Unfortunately another of its consequences was to raise the price of bread to the industrial workers, and, as this was the aspect which immediately concerned them, they resisted the proposal to the utmost of their power. In Glasgow, in 1786, the Chamber of Commerce drew up a reasoned protest against any alteration of the law which would tend to raise the price of grain, and the Town Council sent the protest to its member of parliament, as well as to all the royal burghs of Scotland and to the Convention of Burghs.⁹ From that time onward the subject formed a bone of contention between the agricultural and industrial classes of the kingdom, in which Glasgow took an active interest,¹⁰ until in the middle of the next century the industrial interests were strong enough to secure the repeal of the Corn Laws altogether.¹

Another sign of a cleavage between the social classes came into evidence in the city about the same time. The incident showed clearly the growth of a class consciousness, and was an obvious attempt of the craftsmen in the community to assert themselves and to seize control of the government machine. The attempt was made quite constitutionally, through the machinery of the Trades House. The leader of the attempt was a certain William Lang, of the Hammermen craft, and he handed the Lord Provost a resolution of a majority of the Trades House, with letters demanding official answers from the magistrates and council. The resolution began by recalling that the duty upon ale and beer had been granted to the city subject to supervision and control by the Merchants House

⁹ *Burgh Records*, 20th Oct., 1st Nov., 1786.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 19th Jan., 1791.

¹ Green, *Short History of the English People*, p. 841.

and Trades House. It asserted the right of the Trades House, therefore, not only to modify the levying of the tax, but to control the spending of the revenue which the tax produced. Based upon this claim it asserted a right to inspect the books of the Town Council, and exercise certain powers of direction.

The attack was of course opposed and resented by the city fathers. They pointed out that the duty on ale had been re-granted again and again to the city without any renewal of the original stipulations, which had therefore lapsed. As for the right to inspect the books and accounts of the city's affairs, while they were willing to give that satisfaction to any private burgess who might demand it, they knew of no right of the Trades House or any other body to make the demand. To grant that demand would be subversive of the legal authority vested in the magistrates and council as administrators for the community, and they therefore declared their resolve to use their utmost endeavours to support, in a legal and constitutional manner, their just rights and privileges against the "unwarrantable and unprecedented attack" made by a majority of the Trades House.²

The bid for power which was thus stopped by the firmness of the magistrates and council apparently left no feelings of bitterness in its wake, for the difficult business of dividing the barony of Gorbals, which was undertaken shortly afterwards, was carried through without difference or acrimony. Hitherto that barony had been held in partnership by Hutchesons' Hospital, the Trades House, and the Town Council, the Hospital being owner of one half and the Trades House and the Town Council of one quarter each of the property. It was now determined to divide the property into separate possessions, and the division was carried out in very fair and able fashion.

² *Burgh Records*, 6th Feb., 1787. The duty on ale and beer was worth fighting for. In 1790 it was farmed out by the Town Council for £2400 (*Ibid.* 26th Nov.). It continued to be levied till 1839 (*ibid.* 4th Jan. 1833, note).

The minerals below the surface remained the common possession of the three parties in the same proportions as before. The superiority, with the existing feu-duties and casualties, and the rights of bailiary and justiciary of the whole, were retained by the city, which paid Hutchesons' Hospital and the Trades House £1200 sterling for their shares. The surface was then divided into four portions of equal value, for which the parties drew lots, Hutchesons' Hospital getting two portions and the Town Council and the Trades House one each. The transaction, which was first suggested in 1788, took several years to complete, but was finally settled by a decree arbitral in 1795.³ From that arrangement have come the names of those districts of the southern side of Glasgow known as Hutchesontown and Tradeston.

While this transaction was being arranged, the Trades House had been establishing itself in new quarters. The site chosen was in the street which had recently been laid out by John Horn, the builder, on the grounds of the old Shawfield Mansion, between Trongate and Ingram Street, and named Glassford Street after the last owner of that mansion, John Glassford of Dougalston. Previously the headquarters of the Trades had been in the ancient manse of the prebendary of Morebattle, in the old Kirkgate or High Street, immediately south of St. Nicholas Hospital.⁴ This manse had been acquired shortly after the Reformation, and the bell in the belfry tower on its roof had rung for funerals passing to the High Churchyard for three hundred years.⁵ At last, however, the time had come for the Trades House to have a meeting place more in keeping with its importance and dignity. For its purpose it employed an architect of European distinction.

³ *Burgh Records*, 10th Dec., 1788; 11th July, 1789; 1st June, 1792; 13th March, 1795. See also John Ord's *Barony of Gorbals*.

⁴ Macgeorge, *Old Glasgow*, p. 119. Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 224 note.

⁵ Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 224.



HOUSE OF JAMES EWING, DEAN OF GUILD, 1831.
On site now occupied by Queen Street Railway Station.

Robert Adam was the most distinguished of four brothers, all architects, who built the Adelphi, and much improved the street architecture of London. It has sometimes been stated that Robert Adam was the pupil of Sir William Bruce, Bart., of Kinross, architect of the later part of Holyroodhouse and of the Merchants House in the Briggate of Glasgow. But Bruce died eighteen years before Robert Adam was born. Regarding the latter, Jupiter Carlyle, who was his contemporary, writes that, after studying at Edinburgh University, he "had been three years in Italy, and, with a first-rate genius for his profession, had seen and studied everything that was in the highest esteem among foreign artists. From the time of his return—viz. in February or March 1758—may be dated a very remarkable improvement in building and furniture and even stoneware, in London and every part of England." ⁶ Adam was appointed architect to George III. in 1762, became a Fellow of the Royal Society, and sat in parliament as member for Kinross-shire.

It was this celebrated architect whom the crafts of Glasgow employed to design the new Trades House, and the building which he erected in Glassford Street remains a very interesting and typical example of his work. The representatives of the trades disposed of their ancient almshouse and meeting place in the Kirkgate in 1790, and from 1794 have had their headquarters in the building of Robert Adam's design.

The Trades House, however, was by no means the only building erected in Glasgow by this famous architect. The laying out of new streets on the grounds of Ramshorn and Meadowflat suggested to a body of citizens the project of building a new and more commodious set of Assembly Rooms for the use of the community. The plan, which had proved so successful in the case of the older Assembly Rooms at the Cross, was adopted. Following the astute device of the Italian,

⁶ *Autobiography of Alexander Carlyle*, p. 354.

Lorenzo Tonti, two hundred and seventy-four subscribers were found to invest the sum of £25 each, on the speculative chance, for each subscriber, that his nominee would prove the longest liver, and would thus bring the entire property into the possession of his heirs. The foundation stone of the building was laid on 11th March, 1796, by Gilbert Hamilton, ex-Lord Provost, and the architects were the brothers, Robert and James Adam. Only the centre part of the building was their work : the wings were added nine years later, from designs by Henry Holland, and for half a century these rooms in Ingram Street, between Hanover Street and Frederick Street, formed one of the rendezvous of the social life of the city.⁷ For fifty years after that they were the home of the Glasgow Athenaeum and Commercial College, and when the General Post Office at last acquired the site, the Adam part of the façade was removed to form one of the gateways to Glasgow Green.⁸

Yet another Glasgow building of Adam design was the substantial residence of David Dale in Charlotte Street. It was in that house that Dale's eldest daughter married Robert Owen, the apostle of Socialism, who was to bring his father-in-law's great enterprise at New Lanark into conspicuous notoriety as the scene of his well-meant experiments in the formation of a new order of society.⁹ After serving as an Eye Infirmary for some years, the house still remains to represent the domestic style of the famous architect.

⁷ According to Strang (*Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 347), when the Assembly rooms were first opened in 1798 the company consisted of 370 ladies and gentlemen, and the Queen's assembly in the following year was attended by 460.

⁸ *The Glasgow Athenaeum*, by James Lauder, p. 30 ; *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 171.

⁹ Lugton's *Old Lodgings of Glasgow ; Curiosities of Citizenship*, p. 65.

CHAPTER XL

THE OLDEST GLASGOW CHARITY

A PERSONAGE who figured constantly in the civic annals of the later decades of the eighteenth century was John Campbell of Clathic. The family name was originally Coats. In the early days of 1746, when the Jacobite army moved out of Glasgow and carried with it two substantial citizens, as hostages for the completion of the subsidies which had been demanded, Archibald Coats was one of the pair. One would like to think it was during his march with the rebel force, and by way of a reward for his hardships on that occasion, that he met the heiress of Campbell of Clathic, near Crieff, who became his wife. On succeeding to that estate his son added Campbell to his name, and became John Coats Campbell of Clathic. With the substantial family possession in Strathearn behind him, John Coats Campbell became one of the great Glasgow "Tobacco Lords." He himself acquired the estate of Ryding to the east of the city, which is now, in the twentieth century, the property of the Corporation, and he married a daughter of Laurence Colquhoun of Killermont, through whom that estate also came into his possession.¹ His son accordingly took the name of Campbell-Colquhoun, and his descendant is Campbell-Colquhoun of Killermont and Garscadden, on the western borders of the city at the present day.²

¹ *Curiosities of Citizenship*, p. 138.

² It was to the first Campbell-Colquhoun of Killermont and his wife that Lady Nairne is said to have addressed her fine song, "The Land o' the Leal," in sympathy for the loss of a favourite child. This laird, Archibald Campbell-Colquhoun, was Sheriff of Perthshire, Lord Advocate in 1803, Lord Clerk Register in 1816, M.P. for Elgin from 1807 till 1810, and for Dunbartonshire from 1810 till 1820.

Meanwhile John Coats Campbell of Clathic held a succession of high offices in Glasgow. He was one of the original partners in the aristocratic Thistle Bank in 1761, and one of the founders of Glasgow Chamber of Commerce in 1783. He was elected Dean of Guild in 1767, 1775, and 1781, and in 1784 succeeded Patrick Colquhoun as Lord Provost. After retiring from the office of Chief Magistrate, he set himself to restore and consolidate the fortunes of one of the oldest of the city's charitable institutions.

St. Nicholas Hospital had been founded by Bishop Andrew Muirhead about 1460 for the support of twelve poor old men and a priest to perform service for them. Martin Wan, chancellor of the cathedral, bequeathed it some small ground rents in 1501, and Archbishop Leighton in 1677 left it £150 as a further endowment.³ Between these two last gifts, in 1590, John Painter, master of the Sang Schule, left three pounds to the twelve poor men in St. Nicholas Hospital, and twenty shillings to the four poor men in the Back Almshouse. This latter was the hospital founded by Roland Blackadder, sub-dean of Glasgow, which stood a hundred yards or so further north, near the Stable-green Port, and which appears ultimately to have become united to the foundation of Bishop Muirhead. Nisbet in his *Heraldry* in 1772 describes the curious little chapel of St. Nicholas Hospital, which is to be seen in old Glasgow prints. It was not demolished till 1808. Nisbet also states that beside the hospital Bishop Muirhead built a residence for the priest on which, as on the chapel, he placed his arms—three acorns on a bend. These are still to be seen on a corby stone of the building now known as Provand's Lordship, the oldest house in Glasgow.⁴

After the Reformation St. Nicholas Hospital, as a charitable

³ Macgeorge, *Old Glasgow*, p. 117.

⁴ For the history of this house, and its association with James IV. and Mary Queen of Scots see *The Story of Provand's Lordship*, a brochure by Dr. R. B. Lothian, and *The Oldest House in Glasgow, Provand's Lordship*, by William Gemmell. The dwelling seems, at an early date, to have become

institution, was taken in charge by the Town Council. In 1589 it was inspected by the bailies, who inserted a careful account of it in the Town Council minutes.⁵ During the next two hundred years, however, dilapidations seem to have occurred. At last, in 1783, John Brown, master of works, who was also preceptor of the hospital, placed a statement of the revenues before the Town Council. These were derived in small sums, partly payable in bolls of meal, from properties scattered throughout the town, and amounted to £139 2s. 5d.⁶

Five years later Campbell of Clathic had become preceptor, and he set himself to discover items of revenue which had been allowed to lapse. He found, for instance, that a hundred years previously, in 1686, in purchasing from Robert Rae three acres of Kinclaith, one of the most ancient possessions of the Glasgow bishopric, to add to the New Green, the Town Council had taken the ground burdened with a payment of three bolls of bear annually to the hospital. The payment had not been made since 1748, and its accumulated total now amounted to £80 15s. 2d. sterling.⁷ Campbell next proceeded to turn the derelict properties of the hospital into real revenue. All the buildings except the chapel were ruinous, and, on the plea that the Town Council would probably require the ground for the making of a street, he induced the city fathers to take it

the manse of the Canon of Barlanark and Laird of Provan, and therefore the official residence of King James when he officiated in the cathedral. After the Reformation William Baillie, President of the Court of Session, became by royal charter owner of the great estate of Provan, and the broken sundial on the wall of the building seems to have borne the inscription, including his initials, "W—Provand's Lordship—B." Sir William was Queen Mary's friend, and as this was the best house available in Glasgow at the time, it is conjectured that the queen resided within its walls when she paid her memorable visit to her husband, Darnley, in 1567. In 1807 the Town Council ordered enquiry to be made as to the ownership of the house, and sold it along with an adjoining small building which had been the abode of the Glasgow hangman.—*Burgh Records*, 13th Feb., 2nd May, 1807.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 30th Dec., 1589. See also *Presbytery Records*, 12th Feb. 1606.

⁶ *Ibid.* 22nd Jan., 1783.

⁷ *Ibid.* 26th Nov., 1788.

over at an annual ground rent of £5 sterling.⁸ Finally, discovering that considerable doubt existed regarding the patronage of the hospital, whether it belonged to the Town Council or the Crown, he induced the magistrates to apply to the Court of Exchequer for a gift of that patronage.⁹ As no copy of Bishop Muirhead's original deed of mortification, founding the hospital, could be produced the application lapsed, but in the search upwards of fifty seisins were discovered granted upon charters by early preceptors of the hospital, many of them of subjects not included in the existing rent-roll.¹⁰ Evidently there had been serious carelessness in the management of the hospital's affairs in former times; but Campbell of Clathic brought the subject into the limelight, and this oldest existing Glasgow charity, sadly dilapidated though it is, remains solidly indebted to him for the stoppage of its decay.¹

In the time of Campbell of Clathic two innovations were made which, seemingly trivial enough, must have altered considerably the conditions of life in Glasgow. The appearance of

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 10th Dec., 1788; 20th Aug., 1789. In 1808, when St. Nicholas Chapel had also become ruinous, the town took it over, the ground rent was cancelled, and the Town Council granted the hospital a bond of annuity for £5 yearly payable for all time.—*Burgh Records*, 13th Feb., 1807; ix. pp. 558, 705.

⁹ *Ibid.* 16th May, 1791; 23rd June, 1794.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 5th May, 1796.

¹ St. Nicholas Hospital has been the subject of reports to the Town Council by James Reddie in 1844, by John Strang, LL.D. in 1861, and by James D. Marwick in 1881. Of these the fullest is that on "Bursaries, Schools, Mortifications, and Bequests," by Dr. Strang. Till the Revolution of 1688 the duties of Magister or Preceptor appear to have been discharged by the Archbishop. Following that event the Lords of the Treasury and Exchequer appointed a preceptor. In 1716, however, they ordered that the magistrates of the city should do what the preceptor used to do, till further directions were issued. On the strength of this order, since then the Town Council has appointed a preceptor to manage the affairs of the hospital. Since 1844 the Magister or Preceptor has been the Lord Provost during his term of office. In 1919 Dr. William Gemmell bequeathed £100 to what he termed "the most ancient existing Hospital, the poorest, the most neglected, the veritable Cinderella of hospitals in Glasgow." The hospital has now a capital of £1277 and an annual income of £79 17s. 2d., out of which 27 pensioners receive £3 each per annum.

the first umbrella was one of these. That ingenious contrivance was brought from Paris in 1782 by a Glasgow surgeon, John Jameson. It was made of yellow or green glazed linen, with a ring at the top by which it could be hung on a peg, and was large enough to shelter a small family group.² But it made a signal difference in the possibilities of passing through the streets in wet weather, and must have been welcomed hardly less by the city magnates who wished to preserve the powder in their perukes than by the dames fearful for the stiffening in their muslins and calicoes.

The second innovation arrived six years later, when a committee of magistrates, following the example of Edinburgh, proceeded to appoint a body of caddies, to assist in watching and patrolling the streets in the night time and lighting strangers home in the dark. In the upshot a seal of cause was granted to a company of "Running Stationers or Cadies," who were to serve the public by going messages, by hiring as servants, by assisting at balls, dinners, suppers, and public entertainments, and in other ways. The number of acting caddies was limited to twenty, and each had to find security to the amount of £50 for his honesty and compliance with the rules. The caddies were made a regular corporation, with office-bearers and a common fund. They were to wear a badge, ply for hire opposite the Exchange, and carry a lighted lantern after sunset. Two of them were to patrol the city during the night, by way of help to the police. Their charge was to be one penny for carrying a message any distance under a mile, or two shillings for a day of twelve hours.³ The institution of this highly useful body of men was probably felt to offer as great additional facilities to business communications in the end of the eighteenth century, as the installation of the telephone did a hundred years later.

² *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 155.

³ *Burgh Records*, 29th Dec., 1788 ; 30th Dec., 1789.

Neither these caddies, however, nor the small body of police, and the night-guard of citizens, already mentioned, which were appointed about the same time, appear to have been able to prevent an alarming occurrence which took place shortly afterwards in the heart of the city.

On the night of 15th February, 1793, the citizens' night watch, which used the session house of the Tron Church as its guard room, made its usual rendezvous there. At three o'clock in the morning it departed on its rounds, leaving a fire burning, but no one in charge. By evil chance, in the absence of the guard, there happened to come along certain members of a society, students of the works of Tom Paine, who called themselves the Hell-fire Club. Somewhat elevated with their evening's refreshment, they invaded the session-house, and by way of testing their qualifications for residence at the club's headquarters, proceeded to heap fuel on the fire, and even went so far as to wrench away some of the timbers of the session-house, and place them on the burning mass. Soon the session-house itself caught the flames, and before seven in the morning both it and the church were a mass of ruins. Only the steeple, built in 1637, escaped the conflagration, and still stands forth on the pavement of the Trongate.

A serious part of the loss was the damage to the records of the Glasgow Presbytery and General Session, which used the Tron session-house as their meeting place. The burning of the church itself was not so great a loss, as the building had become dilapidated, and the Town Council were just then debating the taking of it down. A new church was built on the site in the following year, to the design of James Adam, one of the famous brothers, and the life currents of the Trongate and the city flowed on steadily, as before.⁴

⁴ *Glasgow Courier*, Feb. 16th and 19th, 1793; *Burgh Records*, 28th Jan., 27th Feb., 14th March, 25th March, 1793; 4th March, 1794. As late as 1832 Glasgow Presbytery appealed to the Town Council for pecuniary assistance towards the transcription of its records, which by their exposure to the fire were

It is of interest to note that, in the building of the new Tron Church, the Town Council departed from its previous practice of employing the workmen directly. This had been the plan followed in the erection of St. Andrew's Church and St. Enoch's Church. In the case of St. Andrew's Church the workmen's demands and payments went on for sixteen years, and formed a serious drain on the resources of the city. Later experiences of similar sort appear to have incited the Town Council to seek a different plan. In 1791, the committee appointed to examine tradesmen's accounts recommended that the whole of the town's works should be done by contract. With this the Council agreed, and ordained that in future all works of importance should be done in this way.⁵ Following this rule, for the rebuilding of the Tron Church, the Town Council made contracts with a mason and a wright, and arranged for definite sums to be paid at certain stages of the building. Under this arrangement the work was finished and the keys handed over in some eight months' time.⁶

The same plan was adopted in another important undertaking of that year. Following the partition of the Gorbals estate among its three bodies of owners a demand had arisen for better means of reaching and developing that region. A new bridge over the Clyde was demanded, to carry passengers directly across the river from the foot of the Saltmarket. The patrons of Hutchesons' Hospital and Robert Houston Rae, the proprietor of large interests in Little Govan and its coalfields, subscribed handsomely to the project. An Act of Parliament was accordingly obtained,⁷ and contracts were signed for the

in danger of becoming completely illegible.—*Ibid.* 30th Nov., 1832. Extracts of these records, from 1592-1601, are printed in the *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, vol. i. pp. 51-96.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 29th Sept., 1791.

⁶ *Ibid.* 4th March, 1794.

⁷ The Town Council now constantly followed the plan of applying to Parliament for powers to carry out enterprises of any importance. The same Act which sanctioned the Saltmarket Bridge authorized the rebuilding of the Tron Church.—*Burgh Records*, 3rd Jan., 1794.

erection of the bridge at a cost of £3300.⁸ In this case the city enjoyed an additional advantage from its adoption of the plan of building by contract. The builders undertook to complete the work by Martinmas, 1796. Before that date, however, a disaster occurred. In the great flood of 18th November, 1795, which has been already mentioned, the bridge, then nearly finished, was thrown down, carrying with it a breastwork on the river bank which the contractors had undertaken to maintain for seven years.⁹ Had the work been carried out by the Town Council directly the loss would have fallen entirely on the citizens. As it was, after some bargaining, the contractors offered to repay all the money which had been advanced to them, and to remove all the stones and other material from the bed of the river, on condition that they be allowed to cancel their undertaking. To this the Town Council agreed. The only inconvenience suffered by the citizens was the absence of a viaduct over the river at the spot for several years, till a wooden footbridge was erected by the feuars of Hutchesontown in 1804.¹⁰

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 12th May, 1794.

⁹ *Ibid.* 10th Dec., 1795.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 1st April, 1803 ; 5th Sept., 1804. Further up the river a passage was afforded by Rutherglen Bridge, built in 1775 at a cost of £1800. It was the erection of this bridge which changed the name of " Barrowfield " to " Bridgeton."

CHAPTER XLI

IN THE TIME OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

IN those difficult years, when the cries of revolution and the cannon of continental war were filling the hearts of all with foreboding, it is interesting to note that the city on the Clyde never ceased to develop its amenities. Neither was its attention absorbed entirely by merely material things. It is significant that the city raised the stipends of its ministers to £165 in 1788, and gave further additions of £35 in 1796, £50 in 1801, £50 in 1808, and £100 in 1814.¹ When it is remembered that the Act of Parliament of 1810 enforced a minimum of no more than £150, it will be seen that the townsmen set a high value upon the stimulus they derived from the services of the clergy. Their grateful regard was extended even to the bells in the various church steeples, which summoned them to attend the discourses of these spiritual and intellectual leaders. The great bell of the High Kirk, which had sounded over the Bell o' the Brae, and called the burgesses and their wives to worship for some two hundred years, was cracked "by the hands of inconsiderate and unskilful men." Thereupon the Council sent it to London, and had it re-cast by Thomas Mears at a cost of £30 6s. 11½d.² They also had the bells of the other kirks

¹ *Burgh Records*, 28th Feb., 1788; 12th May, 1796; 4th Sept., 1801; 24th May, 1808; 3rd Mar., 1814.

² *Ibid.* 18th Aug., 1790. This is the bell now preserved in the chapter-house. Its material is believed to have been originally one of the bells hung in the western tower of the cathedral by Archbishop Dunbar about 1544. It was replaced in 1896 by a new bell, the gift of Mr. John Garroway.

inspected, to make sure that no unskilful ringing had damaged their integrity.

Just then also Glasgow had followed the example of London by the founding of a Humane Society, for recovering to life persons apparently drowned. The Council encouraged this benevolent enterprise by subscribing £10, and granting it permission to build a boat-house and a house for its officer on the Green.³ From that day till this a constant succession of rescues has been made from the Clyde by the officers of this Society.

Another benevolent act of the Town Council in the same year throws light upon the risks to which British voyagers on the high seas were exposed even so late as the end of the eighteenth century. This was a subscription of £25 towards the ransom from slavery of John Robertson, a native and burgess of Glasgow, who had been captured and carried into Algiers. The petition on Robertson's behalf, which had been presented to the magistrates, was supported by authentic documents, and declared that the unfortunate man had been in slavery for several years. As considerable sums had already been subscribed for his release by respectable inhabitants of the city, it would appear that his ransom was by no means a nominal amount.⁴ Since very little of the shipping of Glasgow then made its way into the Mediterranean, its burgesses suffered comparatively little from the piracies of the corsair state. But as late as 1816, when Algiers was bombarded by Lord Exmouth, and the Dey compelled to release his Christian prisoners, no fewer than 1211 of all nations regained their liberty.

Nevertheless, as a trading city, with its fortunes on the sea, Glasgow had a very vital interest in the protection of British

³ *Burgh Records*, 18th Aug., 1790. The institution of a Humane Society was introduced from Holland to London by Dr. Cogan, and its work in the restoration of persons apparently drowned was the subject of a paper read to the Royal Society by the celebrated anatomist, Dr. John Hunter, in 1776.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1st Oct., 1790.

shipping, and the Town Council continued to offer bounties to seamen who might be induced to join the navy. The threat of an outbreak of war with Spain in 1790 was the occasion of one such offer, and others followed to meet later emergencies.⁵

At the same time the city fathers had in their gift the granting of a bounty providing stimulus in another direction, and there is reason to believe that the exercise of its power on one occasion during that troubled time contributed not a little to the refreshment and strengthening of the national spirit at a later date. In 1791 it presented Thomas Campbell, "son of Alexander Campbell, merchant in Glasgow," to a bursary founded in Glasgow University by Archbishop Leighton.⁶ The bursary was for three years in philosophy and two in divinity, and without it, almost certainly, we should have had no "Pleasures of Hope," and none of the great and stirring pæans of battle, such as "Hohenlinden," "Ye Mariners of England," and "The Battle of the Baltic," which did so much to support the spirit of the nation in some of its darkest hours. Campbell was fourteen years of age when he was awarded the bursary. Seven years later, on the publication of his "Pleasures of Hope," he was recognized as the greatest living poet in Britain.

Again, within a month of presenting the benevolent old archbishop's bursary to Thomas Campbell, the Town Council gave its support to the founding of an institution which, during the next hundred years, was destined to furnish incalculable service to the intellectual development of the city. At that date there were few public libraries in Scotland. The earliest were those of the universities, which had taken the place of those of the ancient monasteries. Next came that of the Advocates in Edinburgh, founded by Sir George Mackenzie of

⁵ *Ibid.* 11th May, 29th Nov., 1790.

⁶ *Ibid.* 31st Dec., 1790; 19th Jan., 1791. Campbell's father was one of the Virginia merchants ruined by the revolt of the American colonies in 1775.

Rosehaugh, the "Bluidy Mackenzie" of Covenanted tradition. There were Archbishop Leighton's library, mostly of old divinity, at Dunblane, the library at Innerpefferay, near Crieff, bequeathed by David, third Lord Madderty, in 1691, and the library at Leadhills established in 1741. Edinburgh had seen the first circulating library in Scotland set up by Allan Ramsay in 1725, and his example had been followed in the western city by John Smith, the Trongate bookseller, in 1753, and afterwards by John Coubrough in High Street.⁷ But Glasgow had no library for public use till 1791. In that year Walter Stirling, a member of the family which made the Monkland Canal and developed the great Turkey Red dyeing industry, bequeathed for the use of the citizens his house on the east side of Miller Street, and his library, along with £1000 sterling and his share in the Tontine society. The bequest was entrusted to the management of a body of trustees, with the Lord Provost at their head, and from that day till this has been a highly valued institution of the city.⁸

The Town Council was not without problems to settle in those years. One of these arose out of a legal case in the court of the Water Bailie. The defenders in that case questioned the right of the Water Bailie to decide or try a civil action, and appealed to the High Court of Admiralty on the subject. The question was carried to the Court of Session, where the Lord Justice Clerk sustained the jurisdiction of the Water Bailie. This was only one of fourteen actions which the city had pending at that time before the Supreme Court.⁹

Another matter in which the Town Council acted firmly was the attempt of riverside owners to obstruct the right of

⁷ Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 158.

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 10th Feb., 1791. Originally readers were required to pay an annual subscription of three guineas, raised to five in 1792; but this was afterwards diminished, and was finally dropped on amalgamation with the Mitchell Library in 1912.

⁹ *Ibid.* 10th Feb., 1791; 1st June, 1792.

way from the Broomielaw to Govan ferry and Partick. The fences and gates erected by these owners were ordered to be removed, and a road 24 feet wide constructed.¹⁰

Again, the piazzas in the four streets leading from the cross, which, for a century and a half, had been one of the features on which the townsfolk chiefly prided themselves, had begun to appear an obstruction. They darkened the shops, which were five feet behind the heavy pillars. In wet weather and on market days they were crowded with country people. The soldiers quartered in the town paraded there, and at night they were the resort of thieves and disorderly persons. At the same time they were so narrow that two people could hardly walk abreast within them. The shopkeepers therefore applied to be allowed to enclose the piazzas in their places of business. On consulting counsel, however, the magistrates found that it was no longer in their power to grant the application. The space within the piazzas had been too long in public use, and anyone who could prove an interest might insist on the space being kept open. The proposal, therefore, was dropped for the time.¹

A movement which demanded more immediate action was a refusal of the Society of Porters to accept a new set of regulations made by the Town Council. The Society had been granted a seal of cause, conferring corporate powers and privileges, in 1748, and its functions, charges, and rules had been readjusted in 1775. In view of changed conditions, the growth of the city and the cost of living, the city fathers again revised the rules

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 19th May, 1785; 17th May, 1791.

¹ *Ibid.* 19th Sept., 1791; 18th Jan., 1792; 14th Aug., 1793; 11th Oct., 1800; 3rd June, 31st July, 4th Sept., 1801. The same reply was returned when the Tontine Society, in 1833, petitioned the Town Council to close the piazzas which had been constructed under the Council Hall and Assembly Room. These piazzas, it was pointed out, had originally been designed as a merchants' Exchange, but had become merely the crowded haunt of disreputable persons. It required an Act of Parliament to have them abolished.—*Ibid.* 23rd Aug., 12th Sept., 9th Oct., 1833.

and terms of work in 1792. But by this time a new spirit had arisen. Echoes of the French Revolution were in the air. The porters refused to accept the ruling of the authorities, and defied the Council. But they had counted without their host. The Council gave them ten days to reconsider their position, and as they still remained obdurate at the end of that time, their seal of cause was cancelled, their badges were withdrawn, and the magistrates advertised their willingness to confer the forfeited privileges upon another body of sober and industrious men who should be willing to give security for their good behaviour and their observance of the magistrates' regulations.²

When the Town Council took the city porters thus firmly in hand the number of inhabitants of Glasgow and its suburbs had just been ascertained. This was no longer merely an estimate, but was a careful enumeration. The collector of statute labour money reported that by the Council's instructions he had in 1791 made an accurate list of houses and inhabitants. Within the city, royalty, and new town there were 10,291 inhabited houses and 41,777 inhabitants, while in the suburbs of Gorbals, Calton, Grahamston, Anderston, and other districts, according to lists made up by the ministers and other helpers, the number of inhabitants was 20,076, and in the country parts of the Barony parish adjoining the city it was 21,330. The total number, therefore, of the inhabitants of what might fairly be called the Glasgow of that time was 66,183.³

But though its population had grown thus considerably, the city found it possible just then to absorb a large body of strangers who were thrown upon the streets, like the flotsam and jetsam of the sea. As a result of the forfeitures and other misfortunes in the Highlands, which followed the Jacobite rising of 1745, many of the inhabitants of the straths and glens

² *Burgh Records*, 27th Dec., 1792 ; 25th Mar., 17th April., 1793.

³ *Ibid.* 9th Aug., 1792.



PROFESSOR JOHN ANDERSON, 1726-1796.
From the oil painting in the Royal Technical College.

were forced to emigrate. In the early months of 1792 one of the vessels carrying these emigrants was wrecked. Her passengers were landed, almost destitute, at Greenock, and made their way to Glasgow. This event was to have singular consequences. Most of the strangers were Catholics, and few of them could speak English. Their case roused the interest and energies of a stalwart priest, Father Macdonell. He set about finding employment for them in the factories of Glasgow, undertook to settle in the city himself, and act as their interpreter and chaplain, and he actually succeeded in finding work for six hundred Highlanders.⁴

Two years later, however, war with France having broken out, British exports to the Continent almost stopped, factories were forced to close down, and again the Highlanders found themselves in severe straits. But Father Macdonell rose to the occasion. Along with young Glengarry, he went to London, and presented a loyal address to the King, offering to raise a regiment of Glengarry Fencibles. He carried with him letters from the Glasgow manufacturers, attesting the good character of the Highlanders who had been employed by them, and recommending that these Highlanders should be enrolled in the service of the country. With these recommendations the offer was accepted and the regiment enrolled. After service in Guernsey and Ireland, the Glengarry Fencibles returned to Scotland in 1802, and like other Fencible regiments were disbanded.

Again the Highlanders were destitute, and again Father Macdonell, who had acted as their chaplain, came to their help. Against much discouragement he secured from the Government an order to the Lieutenant-Governor of Canada to grant two hundred acres of land to every Highlander who should arrive and claim it. With the greater number of the Glengarry Fencibles he emigrated to Canada, and formed the famous settlement which is still known as Glengarry. Each

⁴ See *supra*, p. 315.

of the emigrants gave his new possession the name of the croft he had once held in the Great Glen, and at the present hour the Glengarry in Canada is even more Highland in speech and spirit than the Glengarry in Scotland itself.⁵

It was while these shipwrecked Highlanders were being first settled in Glasgow that the dispositions were made which gave the New Green its final and present shape. An opportunity arose to acquire the lands of Provosthaugh, otherwise known as the Fleshers Haugh, about twenty-four acres in extent, on the riverside, adjoining the ground already owned by the city. Apparently the opportunity was urgent, for payment was required within little more than a fortnight, and the price was four thousand pounds sterling. But the provost, James Macdowall, and two of his bailies, John Alston and David Dale, were men of means, and, determining not to let the opportunity slip, they agreed to make the purchase on their own account. They then offered to hand over their bargain to the Town Council, stating, at the same time, that if the city did not wish to have the land, they were quite willing to retain it themselves. The offer was accepted, however, and the Provosthaugh duly became part of Glasgow Green.⁶

While this transaction was being completed another concerning the Green was begun. It had occurred to a number of citizens that the higher ground, looking over the Green towards the Clyde, offered an exceptionally fine site for dwelling houses. By the sale of the site a large sum of money would be brought into the coffers of the town; if built according to an elegant plan the houses would form a real ornament to the Green and

⁵ Adam's *Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands*, p. 325. The project of emigration was strongly opposed by the chiefs and gentlemen of the Highland Society, who subscribed a large sum to frustrate it (*Edinburgh Advertiser*, 30th May, 1786), and Burns, in his "Address of Beelzebub," heartily abused them for doing so. To-day they are abused for exactly the opposite reason.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 1st May, 22nd May, 1792.

the city ; and with the addition of the Provosthaugh, and a field previously leased separately to one John King, there would still remain a greater area than before for pasturing the cows of the citizens. On these considerations, brought forward by Lord Provost Macdowall, an architect was employed to make a plan for laying off the Calton Green, and to draw plans and elevations for buildings to be erected on it. In this way was begun the movement which resulted in the laying out of that highly fashionable quarter of its time, Monteith Row.⁷

Already, however, while these transactions were being carried out, events were happening which were to shake the foundations of Glasgow's prosperity, and bring ruin and disaster to many a Glasgow home. In February 1793 the Republic of France declared war against this country. The outbreak of the Revolution on the other side of the Channel four years previously had given rise to unrest and anxiety in Britain which were anything but good for trade. Many businesses were already in difficulties through the closing of their markets abroad and the interruption of that confidence and credit which are among the first essentials of commerce. For them the declaration of war was a knock-out blow. In that year as many as 1956 bankruptcies were recorded in the *Gazette*. These included no fewer than twenty-six banks, and of the banks three were located in Glasgow—Thomson's Bank, the Merchants, and the Glasgow Arms. Of the three the Glasgow Arms in the end paid all its creditors, and continued business till incorporated with the Union Bank in 1830, but the ruin of the others was final.⁸

Two years later matters were still worse. The price of wheat had risen from 50s. to 81s. 6d. per quarter (in 1796 it was 96s., and in 1812 it reached its highest, 126s. 6d.)⁹ In the

⁷ *Ibid.* 1st June, 1792.

⁸ *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. 148. *Strang's Clubs*, p. 212.

⁹ Mackinnon, *Social and Industrial History of Scotland*, p. 59.

general strain, disturbance, and upheaval the great West India house of Alexander Houston & Company came down. It was the greatest failure Glasgow had ever known, and nothing so great was to occur again till the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank three-quarters of a century later. The partners in the business were Andrew Houston of Jordanhill, and his brother, Robert Houston-Rae of Little Govan, with two grandsons of the noted Colonel Macdowall, William Macdowall of Castle Semple, M.P., and Lord-Lieutenant of Renfrewshire, and James Macdowall, Lord Provost of Glasgow. The disaster was brought about by an immense speculation in the purchase of slaves, in anticipation of the passing of a bill for emancipation introduced in Parliament. The bill did not pass, and the slaves were left on the hands of the firm. They had to be fed and clothed, their price fell heavily, and disease carried them off by hundreds. Many years passed before the whole tangled skein of the firm's affairs was unravelled. There were claims and inhibitions, arrestments and multiple-poidings innumerable, and a special Act of Parliament was required to enable the trustee to deal with all the difficulties. But in the end every debt was paid with interest. The assets, including the great estates of the partners, realized over £1,000,000 sterling. The Houstons were completely ruined and the Macdowalls were left with only a fragment of the Castle Semple estate, which they named Garthland after the patrimony of their ancestors in Galloway.¹⁰

¹⁰ *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. 223. Mitchell, *Old Glasgow Essays*, 378 note. Senex, *Old Glasgow*, p. 407.

CHAPTER XLII

ANDERSON'S UNIVERSITY

IT was in the midst of the disturbance and uncertainty of those years of revolution that another new and valuable institution had its origin in Glasgow. Professor John Anderson, its founder, was a somewhat formidable figure in the life both of the city and the University. His grandfather, an earlier John Anderson, had been the first minister of the Northwest Church, otherwise St. David's or the Ramshorn. A tombstone near the east end of the south front of the church, details how he was preceptor to the famous John, Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, minister, to begin with, in Dunbarton, and author of several ecclesiastical and political tracts. The inscription further describes how this minister's eldest son, James, was minister in Rosneath, and how his eldest son, again, John Anderson, was Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Glasgow and "Founder of an Institution in the City of Glasgow for lectures in Natural Philosophy and in every branch of knowledge."¹

An account of the life of Professor Anderson appears in the Glasgow Mechanics Magazine for 1825, and his portrait forms the frontispiece of the volume, while a medallion of him by G. Tassie is in possession of the Governors of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College. These representations give the impression of a stalwart and combative personality, which indeed he was. The most complete account of the character and university career of Anderson, written with a not

¹ Cleland's *Annals*, ii. p. 118.

too friendly pen, is given by Dr. David Murray in his *Memoirs of the Old College of Glasgow* (pages 379-393).

After his father's early death Anderson was brought up by an aunt in Stirling, and there at the age of nineteen he helped to raise a regiment to defend the town against the Jacobite rising under Prince Charles Edward. That taste of war gave him an interest in things military which he never lost, and his gun, sword, and bayonet were among the relics he bequeathed to the college he founded. When the rebellion was over he betook himself to Glasgow, completed his education, and graduated Master of Arts. In 1755 he was appointed to the Chair of Oriental Languages in the University, and two years later was transferred to that of Natural Philosophy.

It was in those early years that he befriended James Watt. In 1756 Watt was appointed mechanician to the University and allowed a workshop within the College, and there is reason to believe that the young professor's ideas and the use of his library served as a stimulus to the struggling craftsman. As all the world knows, it was Anderson's commission to repair the model of the Newcomen engine which led to Watt's invention of the separate condenser and all his later improvements in the use of steam.²

The originality and forcefulness of Anderson's character kept him in conflict during a large part of his career with the authorities of the University, who, as is apt to be the case, were all for precedent and tradition. His most notable quarrels with them took place over the method of electing a Rector and the keeping of accounts.³ On an appeal to the courts of law he lost his case. In their hour of triumph his opponents presented

² See *supra*, p. 279.

³ Coutts, *History of University of Glasgow*, pp. 272-294. A generation previously the same subjects had been the cause of one of the most regrettable quarrels in the history of the University, when the high-handed action of Principal Stirling not only excluded the students from the election of the Rector, but threw the whole affairs of the University into serious confusion.—*Ibid.* p. 198.

their factor, Morthland, with a silver bowl inscribed with a testimonial of their confidence. Later, however, the tables were turned. Morthland was charged with defalcations amounting to £10,000, and in his extremity cited as his chief defence the testimonial he had received from the professors.

In the work of his own chair Anderson saw the possibility of a very great development. Hitherto it had been purely academic, dealing with the history of physics and with reasoning regarding the facts of the material world by means of mathematics. In his new development he taught, not by mathematical reasoning, but by a direct appeal to the senses through demonstration and experiment. Four days in the week he lectured on the academic system, and two days on the practical. With a view to the benefit to be conferred on industry by the introduction of something better than mere rule of thumb methods, and with a view, at the same time, to the educational effect upon the workmen themselves, he encouraged the mechanics of the city to attend his practical lectures. Further, to make it as easy as possible for them to do this, he invited them to come in their working clothes, and excused them from wearing the usual scarlet cloak of the student, calling theirs the Anti-toga Class. An innovation of this kind was not looked upon with favour by Anderson's fellow professors, but he persevered with it to the end. The differences between his two courses were explained in his *Institutes of Physics*, published in 1786, a book which ran through five editions in its author's lifetime.

From the first also Anderson made it his practice to keep in touch with the industrial life of the city. In his intercourse with masters and men he ascertained how their processes could be improved by a knowledge of the laws on which they were based, and he set himself in his popular lectures to place that knowledge within their reach.

In one field of applied mechanics he distinguished himself in a highly practical way. Inspired by his early military

experience at Stirling, he devoted time to the study of war and weapons. So clearly was his knowledge recognized that in 1759, when the French commander, Thurot, with four frigates and 1200 men, was threatening the western coast of Scotland, he was engaged to plan the fortifications at Greenock. He experimented extensively with shot and shell, and demonstrated the superiority of spheroid over round shot. He also invented a field gun in which the recoil was stopped by the condensation of air in the gun carriage. This invention he offered to the British Government, but was met with a somewhat rude refusal. In 1791, however, he took a model of his invention to Paris, and presented it to the National Convention. That body received it with thanks, and ordered it to be hung in the Hall of Assembly with an inscription, "The Gift of Science to Liberty." Anderson then had a six-pounder made to his design, and carried out a number of experiments near Paris, in the presence of the famous Paul Jones, who declared his decided approval of the new device.

Of strong Radical views, Anderson, like many others, hailed the French Revolution as the dawn of a new era of greater freedom for mankind. He was present in Paris when Louis XVI was brought back from Varennes, and, amid the acclamations of half a million of his subjects, and to the thunder of five hundred cannon, took the oath to uphold the constitution.

Further, in sympathy with the new movement the inventor translated his *Essays on War and Military Instruments* into French, and distributed copies in Paris. And when the German government drew a military cordon along the frontier, and forbade the importation of French revolutionary literature, Anderson suggested the use of small paper balloons, varnished with boiled oil, and filled with hot air; and thousands of these were sent sailing over Germany carrying inflammatory messages of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity."

What the Glasgow professor thought of the later excesses of

the Revolutionaries is not recorded. No doubt, as with thousands more in this country, these proved a sad and serious disillusionment. At any rate when he died in 1796 he left his fortune, not for the propagation of wildcat projects for the immediate creation of a millenium, but for the development of intelligence, knowledge, and skill among the classes who would most benefit from the turning of these possessions to account in the business of their lives.⁴

Anderson's University, as planned by its founder, was to consist of four colleges—Arts, Medicine, Law, and Theology, each with nine professors. The funds bequeathed by Anderson amounted to no more than £1000, and of course were not enough for the whole ambitious plan. The work began with only a single course of lectures on Natural Philosophy and Chemistry by Dr. Thomas Garnett.⁵ It was equipped, however, with the splendid apparatus and library of the founder, valued at £3000, and in the first year the lectures were attended by no fewer than a thousand students. From these beginnings "the Andersonian" proceeded to grow. Its classes were started in rooms lent by the Town Council in the new Grammar School in George Street, and it included among its professors a succession of distinguished men, such as Dr. George Birkbeck, A. S. Herschel, Thomas Graham, afterwards Master of the Mint, and Dr. Frederick Penny. Among the students who owed much of the success of their careers to its instruction were James Young of Kelly, creator of the great paraffin industry, David Livingstone, the explorer of Africa, and Lord Playfair, the celebrated chemist and politician.

Anderson's was the first university to admit women students as well as men, and it appears to have afforded Count Rumford the suggestion for the Royal Institution which he founded in

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 9th June, 1796.

⁵ The district of Garnethill is said to derive its name from the fact that Dr. Garnett had a cottage there.

London, and in which he induced Dr. Garnett to become the first professor. Out of it also grew the movement, under Dr. Birkbeck, for the founding of Mechanics' Institutes in London and throughout the country, which for many years played a notable part in the education and social life of the artizan classes.

For some thirty years the work was carried on in buildings in John Street, but these became unsuitable, and in 1827 Anderson's trustees acquired the buildings of the Grammar School in George Street, which had likewise become too small for their original purpose, and had been unoccupied since 1821. A lecture hall and galleried museum were added behind. In these buildings the work was carried on for sixty years, chair after chair being added, till in 1893 the staff consisted of ten professors, nineteen lecturers, five extension lecturers, and twelve industrial teachers, with seventeen chief assistants, while in the day classes there were 223 students, and in the evening classes 2685.

In 1887, under the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act, Anderson's College was united with three other institutions to become the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College, the first of its kind in the kingdom; and a few years afterwards, on the site of the old Andersonian in George Street, and sites adjoining, was erected the great building which houses what is probably the most notable industrial university of our time. At the same date the Medical department of the Andersonian, which since the year 1800 had had a highly useful and distinguished career,⁶ was made an independent institution, and established in Dunbarton Road as Anderson's College Medical School.⁷

⁶ For many years the professorships in Anderson's College medical faculty were regarded as an almost certain step to chairs in Glasgow University; no fewer than seventeen of the holders having their services transferred in this way.

⁷ A very full account of Anderson's College and its developments is contained in *The First Technical College*, by Professor A. Humboldt Sexton, 1894.

CHAPTER XLIII

LEARNING AND LITERATURE

LITERARY activities took longer in the West of Scotland than in the east to recover from the ecclesiastical obsession of the Reformation and the Covenant. Perhaps the embargo of the universities against the use of the vernacular was in both cases a cause of delay in literary development. While Scotland was rich, from early times, in songs and ballads, the entertainment of the people, it was almost barren of a deliberate literature in prose. An example was set in 1536, when John Bellenden, at the command of James V., translated the *Historia Scotorum* of Hector Boece into the vernacular. The example in the use of the native language was followed by one or two historians of Queen Mary's time, such as John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, and Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, with, of course, Scotland's master of partizan invective, John Knox.

In its literary record Glasgow can claim John Major, for he seems to have written part of his *Historia Majoris Britanniae* after he became a regent of the College here,¹ but it cannot claim Archbishop Spottiswood, for he wrote his history long after 1615, when he was transferred from the See of Glasgow to that of St. Andrews. The city's achievements in literature may be taken as having begun with the work of the redoubtable Zachary Boyd, minister of the Barony, who, on an October Sunday in

¹ Dr. David Murray thinks the latter part of Major's *Historia* may have been written at Glasgow, as it was not published till 1521, and contains certain detailed references to the city.—*Memories of the Old College of Glasgow*, p. 23.

the year 1650, from the pulpit in the Cathedral crypt, told Oliver Cromwell exactly what he thought of him and the church to which he belonged. From Boyd's poetical work, *Zion's Flowers*, and metrical version of the Psalms, and his prose *Last Battle of the Soul in Death*, Glasgow has no literary production to record for fifty years and more, till 1721 when Robert Wodrow, the devout minister of Eastwood parish, a few miles to the south of the city, published his *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution*. That mine of Covenanting tradition, which drew a gift of a hundred guineas from George I., and supplied Macaulay with a large part of the material for his account of the period, remains the most respected presentation of its subject from the Covenanters' point of view.

After Wodrow came another silence, this time of a quarter of a century, which was broken by a writer of very different character indeed. Dougal Graham, the hump-backed skellat bellman of the city, who had accompanied Prince Charles Edward's army from its crossing of the Fords of Frew till its overthrow at Culloden, has been justly called the Rabelais of Scotland. The chapbooks which he wrote, printed, and sold himself were probably the most popular literature of their time, their coarse jokes and unspeakable episodes making the merriment in every ploughman's bothy throughout the country. Hardly less popular was his rhymed *History of the Rebellion*, which went through eight editions within sixty years; and among his shorter pieces in verse, his "Turnimspike" won the admiration of both Burns and Sir Walter Scott.

It was at the same time that Smollett, on hearing of the atrocities in the Highlands committed by the soldiers of the Duke of Cumberland after the battle of Culloden, wrote his fine verses "The Tears of Scotland." Though Smollett's novels were not written in Glasgow, the first and the last of them, *Roderick Random* and *Humphrey Clinker*, both contain im-

pressions of the city and portraits of certain citizens which make them part of the literature of the place. The shop of Dr. John Gordon, the surgeon, with whom the novelist served his apprenticeship, and in which he gained his knowledge of Glasgow, stood at the north corner of Saltmarket and Princes Street.²

Mention has already been made of Mrs. Grant of Laggan, whose father, Captain McVicar, was among those who lost their estates in America on the outbreak of the War of Independence ; but though she was born in the Goosedubs, and wrote some of her poetry in the city after her return from America, her finest song, "O where, tell me where," was written at Laggan, and during the brilliant literary career which followed, she lived in Edinburgh.

Another song, however, which is not less deservedly popular, was written by a Lord Provost of Glasgow. When Scotsmen gather to see the old year out and the new year in, "Here's to the year that's awa'" expresses exactly the emotion of the moment, and is almost as likely to be sung as "Auld Lang Syne." Its author, John Dunlop, was born in Carmyle House in 1755, and was Lord Provost in 1796. A member of the famous Hodge Podge Club, described by Dr. Strang in *Glasgow and its Clubs*, he was "a typical Glasgow citizen, social and hospitable, who took much pleasure in listening to Scottish songs, and could sing them himself to good effect."³

The establishment of the Foulis Press and their publishing and bookselling business by the brothers Foulis in 1741 no doubt gave a new impetus to the taste for literature in Glasgow. John Mayne, author of the earlier of the two finest poems describing the city, served an apprenticeship of five years in that establishment, and printed the first edition of that poem in *The Glasgow Magazine* in 1783. An early edition of his most famous poem, "The Siller Gun," describing the humours of

² *Literary Landmarks of Glasgow*, p. 15.

³ *The Glasgow Poets*, p. 60.

the annual wapinschawing at Dumfries, appeared in *Ruddiman's Magazine* in the same year, and his "Hallowe'en," which afforded Burns the model for his more famous poem on the same subject, appeared in *Ruddiman's* three years earlier—all several years before the poet betook himself to London for a journalistic career. Mayne was one of the most notable models utilized by Burns, and in one instance at any rate—Mayne's "Logan Braes" which Burns took to be antique, and re-wrote as "Logan Water"—the Glasgow poet's production must be acknowledged as the better of the two.

It seems strange that the two poets never met, but by the time Burns had occasion to visit Glasgow in 1786 Mayne had removed to Dumfries, and by the time Burns settled at Ellisland in 1787 Mayne had gone to London.⁴

In the second half of the eighteenth century the divine fire of intellectual life was burning at its brightest within the walls of the venerable University in the High Street. The dead hand of Latin speech in classroom and quadrangle had by that time been entirely shaken off, though the brilliant Francis Hutcheson, to whom the removal of that incubus was owed, was still upholding "commonsense" reasoning in the Moral Philosophy classes in 1746. Robert Simson, who has been called the restorer of Euclid, and who was to leave to the University the most complete collection of mathematical books in the kingdom, was delivering his prelections in exact science till 1768. William Cullen, who revolutionized both the study of chemistry and the practice of medicine, occupied the chairs of these subjects in succession till 1756. Adam Smith, founder of the science of Political Economy and author of that famous classic on the subject, *The Wealth of Nations*, was Professor of Logic and afterwards of Moral Philosophy from 1751 till 1763. During those years he developed and published his great ethical work, the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, and though

⁴ *The Glasgow Poets*, p. 64.

he did not write his monumental *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* till he had returned from his three years' travels with the young Duke of Buccleuch in 1766, he had, as he himself declared, acquired a knowledge of many of the facts upon which that work was based from intercourse with Provost Cochrane and other Glasgow merchants, and had given his students the benefit of his theories on the subject. When the Senate of Glasgow University in 1762 conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws, it acknowledged the advantage which had accrued to the students from “ the ability with which he had, for many years, expounded the principles of jurisprudence.” And when in 1787 he was elected Lord Rector it was as much in grateful memory of these services, as in esteem for the world-fame of his later career.⁵

The activities of John Anderson, professor of Natural Philosophy, have already been described. His fame lives not so much by the matter which he taught as by the departure he originated in the teaching of practical science, and the teaching of it to a practical audience. Among the other occupants of chairs were Thomas Hamilton, professor of Anatomy, who was succeeded in 1781 by his more illustrious son, William Hamilton, the celebrated surgeon, James Moor, professor of Greek, George Ross, professor of Humanity, and William Leechman, professor of Divinity, who became Principal in 1761.

The enlightened and social spirit of the time, in the University and the city, may be gathered from the fact that these and other occupants of chairs, along with merchants like Robert Boyle, William Crawford, and John Grahame of Dougalston, with other individuals such as William Mure of Caldwell, John

⁵ The author of *The Wealth of Nations* is commemorated in Glasgow to-day by the Adam Smith Chair of Political Economy founded in the University in 1896. The germs of *The Wealth of Nations* are to be found in the lately discovered lectures on “ Justice and Policy ” which Adam Smith delivered to his Moral Philosophy class in Glasgow.—Mackinnon, *Social and Industrial History of Scotland*, p. 41.

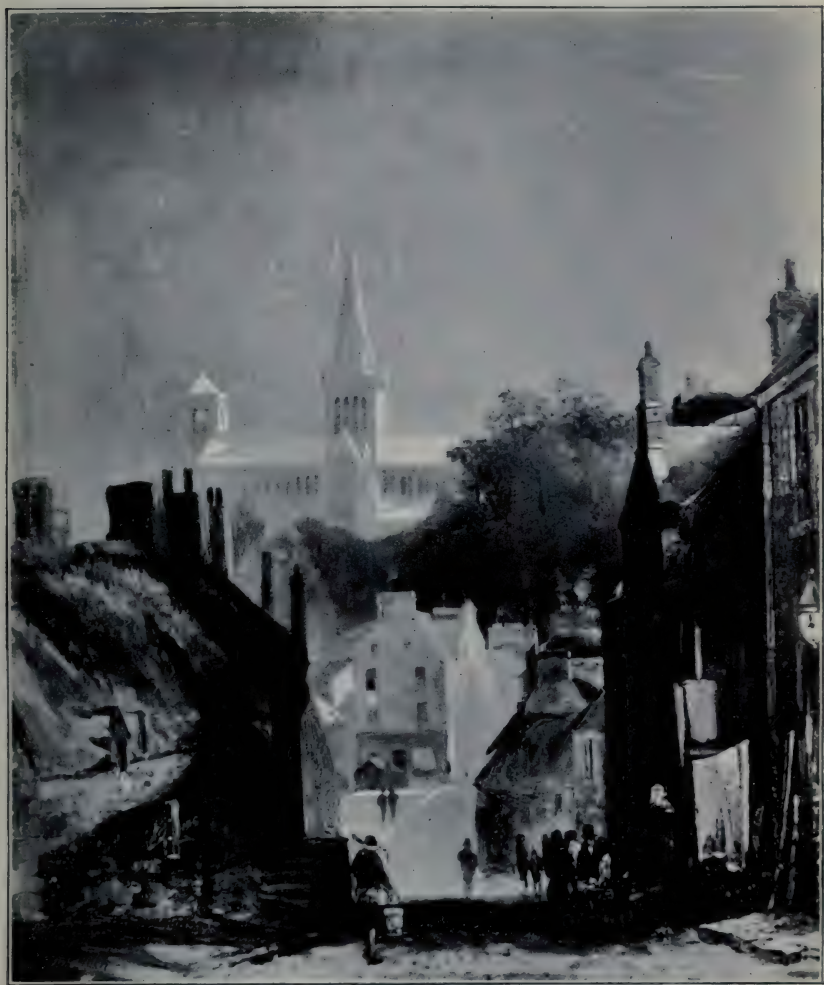
Callender of Craigforth, William Craig minister of the Wynd Church, Sir John Dalrymple, advocate, and Robert Foulis, the University printer, formed themselves in 1752 into the Literary Society of Glasgow. That society met every Friday evening in the University, and the quality of its transactions was in every way worthy of the standing of its members.⁶

Of the members of that society not a few were also members of the celebrated Anderston Club, founded and presided over by Professor Simson, who dined every Saturday in the hostelry kept by "ane God-fearing host," John Sharp, in the village a mile to the west of Glasgow cross. Something of the atmosphere of that club may be surmised from the character of its president as described by Jupiter Carlyle. "Mr. Simson," he says, "though a great humorist, who had a very particular way of living, was well-bred and complaisant, was a comely man of good size, and had a very prepossessing appearance. He lived entirely in a small tavern opposite the College gate, kept by a Mrs. Millar. He breakfasted, dined, and supped there, almost never accepted any invitations to dinner, and paid no visits but to illustrious or learned strangers who wished to see the University. On such occasions he was always the cicerone." When it is added that the Anderston Club applauded Simson's Greek verse with great gusto, it will be judged that this coterie was no mere commonplace convivial assembly. Following the two-o'clock dinner, with its favourite introductory dish of "hen-broth"—something stronger than to-day's chicken soup—there was talk "on philosophy and science, on art and literature—on all the world then knew, and all that it was predicted it would become."⁷

The weekly gatherings of the Literary Society and the Anderston Club were in fact no unworthy equivalents of the gatherings at the "Cheshire Cheese" and other Fleet Street taverns of which Dr. Samuel Johnson was the autocrat and

⁶ *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 24.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 25.



THE DRYGATE, WITH THE CATHEDRAL, 1832.
From oil painting by Horatio MacCulloch, R.S.A.

leading luminary. It was merely their misfortune to have no James Boswell to chronicle and embellish with a touch of genius their annals, their wit combats, and their flashes of wisdom.

This last fact is the more to be regretted since Boswell was himself a student at Glasgow University, and must have derived from his experience there no little part of the inspiration which was to make him one of the most brilliant writers of travels as well as the greatest of all British biographers. It was through the brothers Foulis of Glasgow that he published his first highly popular works on Corsica and the Corsican patriots whose leader was Paoli, and when in 1771, he escorted Paoli to Glasgow, the visitors were received at the University by a body of the professors, and entertained with cake and wine in the library.⁸ When, two years later, Boswell brought the subject of his greatest book to Glasgow, and installed him in the famous Saracen's Head Inn in Gallowgate, Dr. Johnson did not in any way outshine or dominate the little group of University professors and others who came to welcome him to the city. On that occasion Johnson and Boswell entertained three of the professors to breakfast; they were conducted round the town by Professor John Anderson, afterwards founder of Anderson's College, and they visited Principal Leechman in his own house.

Among other notable literary pilgrims from the south of the Border who were attracted to visit Glasgow at that time was Thomas Gray, author of the "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," who came in 1764 to arrange for the publication of an edition of his poems by the brothers Foulis. Dodsley's editions, published in London, the poet declared to be "far inferior to that of Glasgow."⁹ Also, thirty years after Boswell and Johnson, came William Wordsworth, his sister Dorothy, and Samuel Taylor Coleridge. In her *Memorials*, Dorothy recorded that it rained nearly all the time of their visit, and

⁸ Coutts, *Hist. Univ. Glasgow*, p. 305.

⁹ *Literary Landmarks of Glasgow*, p. 29.

they only noticed the busy streets, the picturesqueness of the Trongate, and "the largest coffee-room I ever saw"—probably the Tontine. They did not see the Cathedral.

All these visitors lodged at the Saracen's Head, as also did the Lords of Session when they came to hold their courts of assize in the town. On these occasions "the Lords" entertained the magistrates to feasts in which the mighty punch-bowl of the establishment figured, as well as oceans of the claret for which the hostelry was famous.

Next to the literary associations of the Saracen's Head, its most famous memory was the arrival at its door of the first mail-coach from London on 7th July, 1788. So important was the event that the proprietor of the inn, with a troop of horsemen, and trumpets blowing, rode out along the Gallowgate to welcome the coach as it came galloping in.

It was, however, another inn to which Robert Burns resorted when he visited Glasgow. The national poet was more often in the city than has been generally supposed, and it was only by chance that the first edition of his work was not published there instead of at Kilmarnock. When, on a summer day in 1786, he came in over the beautiful old bridge which still stands in the glen at Cathcart, he had his poems in his pocket, along with an introduction to William Reid, a young man in the employment of Dunlop & Wilson, booksellers, printers, and publishers in Trongate. The young assistant recognized the merit of the poems. "Don't talk of the West Indies, sir!" he exclaimed, when Burns mentioned his project of going abroad, "Edinburgh, not Jamaica, is the place for you!" But neither Dunlop & Wilson, nor any other of the Glasgow printers, would undertake the issue—the Foulises were by that time out of business—and the poet, on his way home through Kilmarnock, made his arrangement with John Wilson, the printer there.¹⁰

¹⁰ Hatley Waddell, *Life and Works of Burns*, quoted in *Literary Landmarks of Glasgow*, p. 57.

The details of Burns's connection with Glasgow would have been much more fully known but for the fact that in the flood of the Clyde in February 1831, Reid's house was inundated, and all his Burns letters were destroyed.¹ In 1787, however, and in 1788 the poet was frequently in the city, and it seems somewhat surprising that he received there nothing like the recognition and ovation which greeted him in Edinburgh. Perhaps he was too near home. Glasgow has always been rather apt to fulfil the adage regarding a prophet in his own country. He made the Black Bull at the foot of Virginia Street his headquarters, and there one night in February 1788, on arriving from the capital, he sat down and wrote one of his most impassioned letters to "Clarinda"—herself, by the way, a Glasgow girl, her father a Glasgow surgeon, and her uncle a Glasgow minister. That night at the Black Bull he entertained his brother William and Captain Richard Brown, the friend of his days at Irvine, and next day Reid escorted him as far as Govan on his way to Paisley.²

Burns had a number of other friends in Glasgow, including James Candlish, a student at the University, to whom he wrote several interesting letters. But of these friends the most notable was Dr. Moore, the author of *Zeluco*, and father of the still more famous Sir John Moore, the hero of Corunna. It cannot be forgotten that but for the contents of the poet's autobiographical letter to Dr. Moore we should be without many most interesting details of his early life.

The statue of Burns unveiled in George Square in 1877 may be held to testify for Glasgow nothing more than the admiration of the poet displayed by Scotsmen everywhere; but a quite special memorial is the great collection of Burns literature in

¹ Reid afterwards became a partner in the bookselling business of Brash & Reid, and, something of a poet himself, wrote a third sixteen lines to his friend's song "Of a' the airts the wind can blaw."—*The Glasgow Poets*, p. 116.

² *Literary Landmarks*, p. 64. A very full account of Burns's connections with the city will be found in this work.

the Poets' Corner of the Mitchell Library, probably the finest collection in existence.

Another man of letters of the highest distinction who had a close association with Glasgow in the late years of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth, was Sir Walter Scott. Like Burns, Scott was more frequently in Glasgow than is generally supposed. His duties in connection with the Court of Session brought him to the city at regular intervals. On these occasions his resort for refreshment was the Institution tavern in King Street, and there, for many years after his time, the ring at the door was pointed out as that to which he fastened his horse, and visitors were shewn the "loupin'-on stane" from which he reached the saddle. That "Institution" was a favourite rendezvous of the College professors and students, who presented it with a dozen silver tankards, duly inscribed. The tankards, eleven of them at least, are still in existence, and were no doubt frequently used by Scott himself.

On one of these legal visits Scott was present at the trial of the murderer Mackean, and afterwards went to see the condemned man in his cell—the murder was a particularly diabolical one, and the murderer a sanctimonious rascal.³ In 1808 the novelist induced Constable to publish the little volume including "The Poor Man's Sabbath," by the Glasgow cobbler-poet, John Struthers. In 1814, at the end of his cruise in the yacht of the Lighthouse Commissioners, he voyaged up the Clyde, from Greenock to the Broomielaw, in one of the first river steamers—the "Comet" had been launched only two years before. And in 1817, along with his friend Captain Adam Ferguson, he was conducted round the sights of the city by John Smith, the bookseller of Hutcheson Street—the tour in which he gathered materials for his romance, *Rob Roy*. Still later, in 1825, Scott passed through Glasgow again, accompanied by his daughter Anne and Lockhart, and at dinner on the

³ Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, chap. viii. Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 489.

steamer as he sailed down the river, sat beside a certain Bailie Tennant, who, as he brewed a second bowl of punch for the party, remarked with a sly wink that in that office he "was reckoned a fair hand, though not equal to his father, the deacon."

In view of the greatness of the man, to say nothing of the fact that he placed Glasgow permanently in the gallery of literature with one of the greatest of his romances, *Rob Roy*, it seems strange that Scott was three times a candidate for the Lord Rectorship of the University—against Sir James Mackintosh, Lord Brougham, and Thomas Campbell—without success. It was only after he was dead, and the heroic drama of his fight against misfortune was over, that the citizens hastened to set up his monument in the middle of their Valhalla, George Square.

In the later decades of the eighteenth century Glasgow was producing its own galaxy of literary genius. Greatest of its stars was Thomas Campbell, who at the age of twenty-two, upon the publication of his *Pleasures of Hope*, became the greatest poet of the day. Born near the foot of Balmanno Brae in George Street,⁴ the eleventh child of one of the city's Virginia merchants, he won an early fame at the old College in High Street as a teller of stories, a player on the flute, and a winner of prizes for English and Greek verses. His verse essay on "The Origin of Evil" got him a reputation far beyond the College walls, and the signboard which at midnight he set up over the adjoining shops of two quarrelsome neighbours, a publican named Drum and an apothecary Fyfe, who pierced ears for earrings, set the whole town in a roar with its legend—

"The ear-piercing Fife, the spirit-stirring Drum!"

It was while tutoring General Napier's son at Downie House on the Kintyre coast below Crinan, that a letter from his College

⁴ *Literary Landmarks of Glasgow*, p. 79.

friend, the witty Hamilton Paul, set him to writing *The Pleasures of Hope*, for which, in 1799, Mundell, the Edinburgh publisher, gave him £60 at sight and occasional sums of £50 afterwards. By that time his family had removed from their later house in Charlotte Street to Edinburgh, and Campbell's connection with Glasgow ceased, with the exception of one glorious visit in 1815, till he returned in 1827 to be chaired triumphantly as Lord Rector by the students of his old alma mater. Curiously enough, on that occasion his election was bitterly opposed by the professors, who even prevented him from delivering two lectures to the students on "The History of Learning." His later championing of the cause of Poland shewed him to be as broad in his sympathies as his songs showed him to be patriotic in spirit.

Campbell remains the greatest of the Glasgow poets, but he was not the only literary genius whom the city produced at that time. It cannot be forgotten that the writers of the two greatest biographies in the English language, James Boswell and J. G. Lockhart, were students at the old College—Boswell as a student of Civil Law and of Moral Philosophy under Adam Smith, and Lockhart, son of the old minister of the Blackfriars Church, as winner of a Snell exhibition which carried him, as the Snell exhibitions have carried so many other men of future distinction, to Balliol College at Oxford.⁵ Lockhart left a notable mark in the annals of Glasgow itself with "Captain Paton's Lament," a quaint elegy on a quaint personage in the city in his time. Dr. John Moore, son of one of the daughters of that worthy citizen, John Anderson of Dowhill,⁶ was the author of many successful books besides the novel *Zeluco*, though

⁵ The Snell Exhibitions, now five in number, of £80 each, tenable for four years, were founded by John Snell, himself a Glasgow student, who fought for Charles II at Worcester, and acted as secretary to the Duke of Monmouth. The late Lord Newlands increased the amount by £100 per annum to each holder.

⁶ *Supra*, p. 20.

he is chiefly remembered from the facts that he corresponded with Burns and was the father of Sir John Moore. James Grahame, author of *The Sabbath*, of *Mary Stuart, an Historical Drama*, and of *The Birds of Scotland*, was the son of a Glasgow writer, who got his inspiration on the bosky banks of the Cart, south of the city, and notwithstanding the criticisms of the *Edinburgh Review* and Lord Byron, is regarded, not unjustly, as the Cowper of Scotland. It was his death, in 1811, which first stirred the genius of his friend, John Wilson, to poetry.⁷ Wilson himself, the future "Christopher North," Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh, and one of the brilliant coterie which made that city "the Modern Athens," won his earliest fame as much by his astonishing athletic ability as by his facility in writing verse when attending the classes at Glasgow University. He received there, from Professors Young and Jardine, the impulses which led him, later, to adopt a life of letters, and which fitted him, when in 1808, his father, the wealthy gauze manufacturer at Paisley, died, and he bought the beautiful estate of Elleray on Windermere, to associate with men like Wordsworth, Southey, and De Quincey, who were making that region famous.

There were also the two sons of Dr. William Hamilton, Professor of Anatomy and Chemistry. Of these the elder, William, in 1816 revived the baronetcy of Preston, forfeited by his ancestor Sir Robert Hamilton, leader of the Covenanters at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, and, as Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Edinburgh, acquired a reputation as the first metaphysician in Europe. The younger brother, Thomas, was the author of *Cyril Thornton*, a novel which stands beside *Humphrey Clinker*, *Rob Roy*, and Galt's *Entail*, for its pictures of Glasgow life and character: Joanna Baillie, again, had been at school in Glasgow for four years before her father became Professor of Divinity in the University. Her plays have been

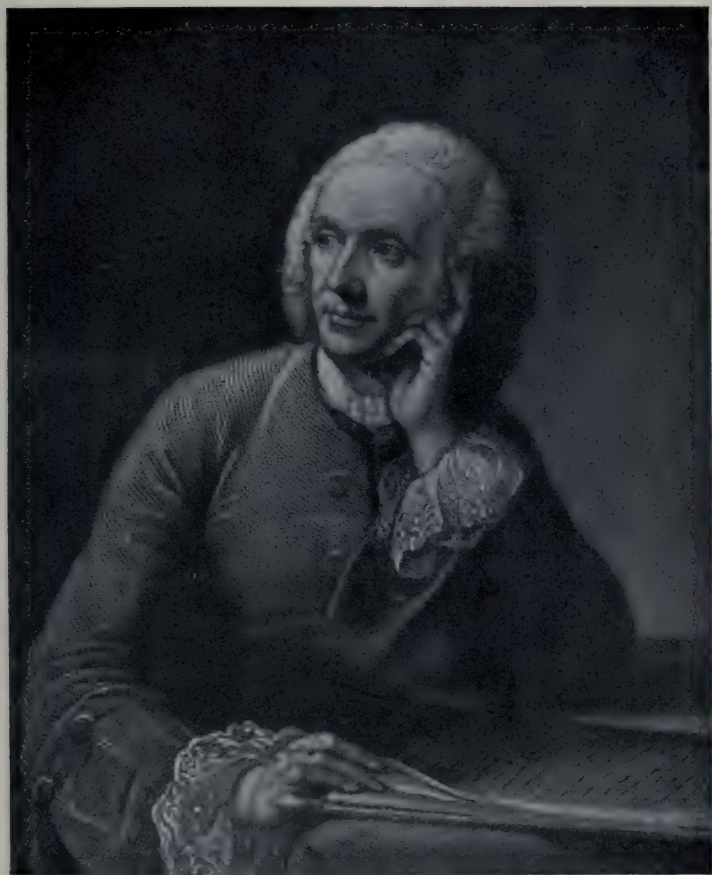
⁷ *The Glasgow Poets*, p. 125.

described as "the best ever written by a woman," her songs are among the Scottish classics, and her friendship with Sir Walter Scott remains one of the most famous in literature.

Joanna Baillie had yet another connection with Glasgow, for her mother was a sister of the famous London surgeons and anatomists, William and John Hunter. At his death in 1783 William Hunter left £2000 to the poetess, his practice to her brother Matthew Baillie, and his great collections to his alma mater, Glasgow University, where they still form a very notable feature, the Hunterian Museum.

Something of a new departure for the West of Scotland was made when Brash & Reid, from their shop in Trongate, between the years 1795 and 1798, issued their *Poetry, Original and Selected*. The production was evidently modelled on Allan Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany*. It was issued in penny numbers, and ultimately formed four volumes. It included a number of Reid's own compositions, as well as some by Robert Lochore, his fellow laureate of the Hodge Podge Club. But perhaps its chief merit lay in suggesting the later *Whistle-binkie* of 1832, to which the chief contributors were Alexander Rodger, the "Radical Poet," author of "Robin Tamson's Smiddy," "Behave yoursel' before folk," and other lyrics, J. D. Carrick, editor of the famous collection of Scottish humour, *The Laird of Logan*, and William Motherwell, journalist, politician, and poet, whose *Minstrelsy Ancient and Modern* remains perhaps the best representative collection of Scottish ballads.

These last-named notables belong rather to the early decades of the nineteenth century than to the last decades of the eighteenth. So also does Robert Pollok, author of that once immensely popular poem, "The Course of Time," who died in 1827 at the age of 29, in the very hour of achieving fame. Similarly cut off in his prime, in 1826, was William Glen, son of a considerable West India merchant, who besides his well-



WILLIAM HUNTER, 1718-1783.

From the portrait in the Hunterian Museum.

Reproduced by permission of the University of Glasgow.

known song, " Wae's me for Prince Charlie," was the author of a number of lyrics, some of which, like " The Battle of Vittoria," enjoyed a vast popularity in their day. And to the same period, outstanding in the field of fiction, belongs Michael Scott, born at Cowlairs House, whose creation, *Tom Cringle's Log*, printed first as anonymous occasional articles in *Blackwood's Magazine*, remains the richest and most racy picture of the West Indian life of its author's time.

In the arena of learning it is worth remembering that the founder of the famous McGill University at Montreal was a Glasgow man. Born in the city in 1744, and migrating to Canada before the American Revolution, James McGill carried with him memories of the ancient College in High Street, and when he died, a Member of Parliament and a Brigadier-General, in 1813, left his estate of Burnside and a sum of £10,000 to found the university which bears his name.

CHAPTER XLIV

WAR WITH FRANCE

As the eighteenth century was drawing to an end the shadow of want again darkened in the wynds of Glasgow. The city had now an industrial population of many thousands who depended entirely on wages and what wages could buy. The day was gone when every family owned a cow and a kailyard, and was more or less independent of prices in the market or shop. Under the new order of things, in time of war, or the failure of a harvest, or a change of trade or fashion, large numbers of persons, the less provident or less competent or less fortunate, fell very soon into distress. This happened in 1799, and the emergency was the most serious the city fathers had yet been called upon to meet.

The country was then at war. The revolutionists of France, having slaughtered their own aristocracy in the "September massacres" of 1792, and guillotined their king and queen, had set themselves to bring about revolution in this country. They endeavoured to rouse India and Ireland to throw off the British "yoke." Their agents were busy "sowing revolution" in the courts of the Indian princes, in the organizations of United Irishmen, and in the Constitutional Clubs in Britain itself. Pitt's pious hopes that France would refrain from a war of conquest, his pressure on Holland to remain neutral, and his efforts to maintain peace at almost any price, were regarded by the French revolutionaries as merely weakness. They accordingly proceeded to attack Holland, and, in February, 1793, declared war on Britain.¹

¹ Green, *Short History*, under dates.

Of the stresses and distresses in the years that followed, Glasgow had its natural share. Mention has already been made of the commercial crisis of 1793 in which three of the Glasgow banks went down, as well as of the tremendous crash of Alexander Houston & Co. in 1795. It is true that in many respects life went on, and the city conducted its affairs, as if the war were being waged in another planet. The stipends of the city ministers were raised to £200 ;² hackney coaches, which were ousting sedan chairs, had their fares regulated ;³ and a great making of roads continued, amid which the Town Council subscribed £500 for the highway over Beattock Summit in the Leadhills, from Dinwiddie Green to Elvanfoot.⁴ Contracts were made for cleaning the streets, for £48 in 1796 and for £90 two years later,⁵ while an order was given for whitewashing the interior of the Outer High Church, otherwise the nave of the cathedral.⁶ In private business also, notable developments took place. Among other enterprises, Charles Macintosh, son of George Macintosh of cudbear fame, established the first alum works in Scotland, at Hurlet, near Barrhead.⁷

Again and again, however, the mighty matter of the war became insistent. In June, 1795, Glasgow was called upon to furnish a quota of 57 men for the Royal Navy. Only 15 could be got to volunteer, and the expense of levying them amounted to £290. For the deficiency the city had to pay £25 per man, or £1050 altogether. These amounts were raised by a special assessment, on the heritors, burgesses, and inhabitants.⁸

It is to the credit of the city that no such violent outbreaks occurred as took place in London, where George III., on his way to open Parliament, was met with cries of " Bread," " Peace," and " No Pitt ! " and had an attempt made upon his life—an

² *Burgh Records*, 12th May, 1796. ³ *Ibid.* 3rd Aug., 1796; 13th Jan., 1800.

⁴ *Ibid.* 28th Dec., 1797.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1st April, 1796; 12th June, 1798.

⁶ *Ibid.* 25th June, 1798.

⁷ Mitchell, *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 382.

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 12th June, 1795.

outrage regarding which the Town Council sent a letter to the king.⁹

Sixteen months later the magistrates, merchants, and manufacturers sent an offer to the Government to raise two battalions of foot, each 750 strong, for national defence, and at the same time George Macintosh made an offer on his own account to raise a battalion of 500 Highlanders. The Town Council thanked Macintosh for an offer "which does him the highest honour," but declined to send it on, "for particular reasons of expediency."¹⁰ Later in the same month came a further requisition from the Government to raise a quota of 64½ men. Of these, 9 men were actually forthcoming, at an expense of £189 6s. 4d., and the city paid £1387 10s. for the 55½ who remained deficient.¹

These events were a sign of the anxious condition of the nation's affairs. Since suggesting the strategy which drove the British garrison out of Toulon in 1793, the young artillery officer, Napoleon Bonaparte, had risen rapidly into power. France had broken up the confederacy of nations—Spain, Austria, and Prussia—which, in alliance with Britain, ringed her round, and she had overrun Holland. It was true that our fleets at sea had taken possession of the French West Indian islands and the Dutch colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, Java, and the Malacca Islands, but Napoleon had marched an army over the Alps, and brought Austria to terms, while Spain and Holland had become allies of France. Under Pitt's policy of peace and retrenchment in previous years, the British army had been reduced to insignificance, and, as invariably happens in such circumstances, the enemy was encouraged to attack. Ireland, seething with sedition, was on the eve of revolt, and it was known that the French were planning an invasion there. A mutiny which broke out in the fleet was

⁹ *Burgh Records*, 4th Nov., 1795.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 17th March, 1797.

¹ *Ibid.* 29th March, 1797.

put down with difficulty, and in the general alarm the Bank of England suspended payment. If the fleets of Spain and Holland could unite with that of France to seize the Channel, an overwhelming force was ready to be landed on our shores.

In this crisis Britain was saved by the skill and bravery of her seamen. In February, 1797, when the Spanish fleet put to sea, it was met by Admiral Jervis off Cape St. Vincent, and driven back to Cadiz with the loss of four of its finest ships. And in October, when the Dutch fleet sailed out of the Texel, it was engaged, and, after a tremendous battle off Camperdown, almost entirely destroyed by Admiral Duncan.

The relief felt by Glasgow, which was no doubt typical of that of the rest of the country, was testified in no uncertain fashion. The Town Council wrote a letter of congratulation to George III., it conferred the freedom of the city on Admiral Duncan, and it named the two avenues then being made westward out of George Square respectively St. Vincent Place and Camperdown Place² (now West George Street).

An exploit of particular gallantry following the Battle of Camperdown, was singled out by the Town Council for special recognition. During the conflict the Dutch battleship *Vreyheid* had struck her colours to the British *Director*, and Lieutenant John MacTaggart was put on board, with twenty-two British seamen, to navigate the prize to a British port. The *Vreyheid* had a complement of 500 men, nevertheless MacTaggart, with his small prize crew, took possession, and successfully brought the big Dutchman into Yarmouth Roads. The feat was accomplished in spite of excessive hardships through stress of weather and fatigue. As a reward MacTaggart was promoted to command the *Ferret* sloop of war, and, in recognition of his meritorious and gallant behaviour, the magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow made him an honorary burgess and guild brother.³ No doubt the gallant officer was a Glasgow man.

² *Ibid.* 21st Nov., 1797; 4th Sept., 1802.

³ *Ibid.* 29th March, 1798.

Three months later, while the Irish, aided by a force under General Humbert, which the French had managed to land in August, were doing their utmost to stab Britain in the back, the Town Council of Glasgow rose still further to meet the occasion, by making a voluntary contribution of £1000 for the support of the Government and the defence of the kingdom. At the same time the citizens subscribed and sent to London £13,500 for these purposes, and the first battalion of the Royal Glasgow Volunteers by itself subscribed and remitted to the Bank of England the sum of two thousand guineas.⁴

Glasgow just then had its own reason for knowing that the Government was short of money. Since 1794 the city's account for the ground in Gallowgate on which the barracks were built had remained unpaid. With interest this now amounted to more than £2000, and many applications to the Barrack-master General had been made without result, that officer assigning frankly as a reason that there were no funds in his hands for the purpose. It was not till the year 1799 that a settlement was obtained.⁵

At that time the income from the "Common Good" of the town, that is, from the tron and weigh-house, markets, cran dues, ladles, and bridge tolls, amounted to no more than £3377, while the impost duties upon ale and beer brought a further £2600. The seat rents of the churches also brought in a certain sum. There was then no regular system of rating, except for the support of the poor, and the entire income of the city in 1797 was only £8943 4s. 8d.⁶ It will therefore be seen that the sums voluntarily subscribed for the defence of the country represented really substantial efforts. The Town Council indeed regarded its own affairs as in a serious position, and urged the committee

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 15th Feb., 20th Sept., 1798.

⁵ *Ibid.* 11th June, 1799; 22nd Aug., 1800.

⁶ *Ibid.* 24th May, 14th Dec., 1797; 2nd Oct., 1801.

charged with auditing the chamberlain's books to devise some scheme for increasing revenue and diminishing expenditure. For this, it declared, there appeared to be "the most urgent necessity." ⁷

Like the rest of the kingdom, Glasgow was no doubt cheered by the rout of the Irish rebels at Vinegar Hill in June, 1798, and the surrender of the French force under General Humbert who landed in August to assist them; also by Nelson's destruction of the French fleet at the Battle of the Nile, and the repulse of Bonaparte from the siege of Acre, which together put an end to that enemy's designs for the conquest of India. By way of commemoration the Town Council gave the name of Nile Street to one of its new thoroughfares. ⁸

But the troubles entailed upon this country by the political upheaval in France were really little more than begun, and meanwhile Glasgow had its difficulties suddenly and enormously increased from an altogether unexpected quarter. In the year 1799 the harvest failed. The most grievous scarcity that had yet been known was experienced in the city, and a large part of the population was reduced to real danger of starvation. While the pressure of want was felt by all, the most serious distress was experienced by the working classes, and memories of the events of the time remained among the fireside tales of Glasgow folk for the better part of a century. Stories were told of the struggles to secure the single peck of meal to which each family was restricted, of the long hours of waiting for that precious dole, and of the terrors of the military guard which prevented the hungry crowd from raiding the diminishing store. ⁹

Fortunately the Town Council took early alarm. The Lord Provost, Laurence Craigie, drew attention to the danger, not only of starvation among the poorer inhabitants, but of the

⁷ *Ibid.* 2nd Oct., 1797. ⁸ *Ibid.* 4th Sept., 1802.

⁹ *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. 55.

disturbances likely to arise if precautions were not taken to quiet the minds of the people.¹⁰ On his suggestion, and following the example set in the similar but smaller emergency of 1782, the Town Council opened a guarantee fund, which it headed with a subscription of £500, and appointed a committee to import grain, meal, and other provisions, and distribute them, by sale and otherwise, to the citizens. Within a month the sum of £12,000 was subscribed, and the committee was at work. From first to last that body expended no less than £65,330. It is interesting to note that the largest item was £28,150 for oats, while wheat came next at £13,388. £8800 were spent on barley, and £3881 on beans and pease, while 3360 barrels of flour were purchased for £8191, and of potatoes there were no more than 165 tons, which cost £398.¹ In addition to this public effort, private benevolence took part on a large scale. It was on this occasion that David Dale imported and distributed his shipload of Indian corn, which was welcomed by its recipients under the name of "sma' peas." Altogether food to the value of £117,500 was imported.²

Notwithstanding the strenuous efforts which were thus made, the city did not escape disturbance. On 15th February, 1800, a bread riot broke out, and did considerable damage to person and property, which had to be made good out of the public purse. The "meal mob" of Glasgow, however, attained no such serious proportions as the disturbances in

¹⁰ Thomas Paine, the stormy petrel of two continents and the Henry George and Karl Marx of his time—privateer, excise officer, and agitator in England, who fought against this country in the revolt of the American colonies, and became a French citizen and member of the Convention in 1792—was just then stirring up trouble with his writings, "The Age of Reason" and "The Rights of Man."

¹ *Burgh Records*, 13th Nov., 16th Dec., 1799; 6th Nov., 1800; 7th Feb., 1803.

² *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*. The total public subscription amounted to £18,000. In addition the cost to the Town Council was £7611, but when the Council proposed to raise this sum by taxation the proposal was strenuously resisted.—*Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 359.



PORT DUNDAS, WITH CANAL HOUSE AND PASSAGE BOAT.

From water-colour drawing by Robert Carrick.

London, where yet another attempt was made to assassinate the king.³

Fortunately the years that followed produced plentiful crops. That of 1801 was stated to have been harvested in better condition than any within living memory. The troubles arising from scarcity of food accordingly came to an end.⁴

³ *Burgh Records*, 19th March, 24th Sept., 1800; 30th March, 1801; 21st May, 1800.

⁴ *Ibid.* 6th Nov., 1801.

CHAPTER XLV

GLASGOW WELLS AND WATER SUPPLY

IN modern times, when every citizen is aware of the serious dangers of a polluted water supply, it is curious to find that until the beginning of the nineteenth century Glasgow depended entirely for this chief necessary of life upon a few wells and the waters of the Molendinar, the Camlachie Burn, and the Clyde. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the wells were merely open holes in the ground, surrounded with a low parapet wall,¹ and the water was drawn up by a bucket and windlass. It was only by degrees that the wells were covered, and a pump was substituted for the windlass and bucket. Of the thirty or so public wells which existed at the end of the century most were sunk in the streets of the town, and must have been liable to serious pollution from the surface filth which was only occasionally cleared away. As late as 1780 a well was sunk in Jamaica Street to supply the occupants of the new houses then being built in that thoroughfare.²

The wells were one of the social institutions of the town. Most famous of them were the well at the Barras Yett, near the foot of Saltmarket, and the well in Trongate at the West Port, near the head of the Stockwell. There the gatherings of barefooted servant lasses, with their "girrs" and "stoups," waiting their turn to draw the household water for the day, exchanged all the latest gossip, to be carried home and duly retailed to their mistresses with exclamations and embellish-

¹ *Burgh Records*, 18th June, 1664.

² *Ibid.* 30th Aug., 1780.

ments. The Town Council regularly appointed an official whose duty was to see that buckets and chains and pumps were kept in good order.

Of these wells, those still in existence, though now closed, are the famous Arns Well,³ near the Humane Society House on Glasgow Green, the well in the flower garden of the Bishop's Castle, now Cathedral Square, the Lady Well under the Necropolis, the well at the Dew Hill or Dowhill in Gallowgate, which supplied the Saracen's Head Inn, and the Deanside spring or Meadow Well opposite the entrance to Shuttle Street, which at one time supplied the Greyfriars Monastery, and which made it almost impossible to erect some of the buildings round its site at 88 George Street. Of the old private wells there is one under the paving of the Argyll Arcade, not far from Buchanan Street, where once lay the garden of a pleasant suburban house. The oldest of all, of course, is St. Mungo's Well, in the lower part of the Cathedral, which was probably used for church purposes till comparatively recent times.

Regarding the water supply of the city McUre wrote in 1736, "There is plenty of water, there being sweet water wells in several closes of the town, besides sixteen public wells, which serves the city night and day as need requires."⁴ Forty years later, however, when the population was increasing at the rate of a thousand each year, the Town Council began to foresee scarcity. In 1769, as we have seen,⁵ a committee was instructed to consider means of bringing good water to the town, and a fee of £12 12s. was paid two Edinburgh plumbers for their suggestions. Again in 1775 a clause was even inserted in a parliamentary bill to authorize the enterprise, and Robert McKell was employed to "enquire and search for fountains, springs, and water of good quality"; and in the following

³ Named from the "arn" or alder trees which grew about it.—Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, pp. 160, 168.

⁴ *History*, p. 144.

⁵ *Supra*, chap. xxx.

year eight guineas were paid to another man, Dr. Irvine, for similar services.⁶ Later still, in 1783, the Town Council returned to the problem, when an offer was got from David Young for bringing water from the Forth and Clyde Canal in a four-inch pipe, filtering it, and distributing it in pipes through the city. Again the surveyor received a fee, and again nothing was done.⁷

Once more, in 1788, James Gordon, an Edinburgh architect and master of works, submitted a scheme for supplying the city with good water. There was evidently no urgency in the project, for the Town Council only took up consideration of this scheme four years afterwards, and then deferred it again indefinitely. Gordon deprecated the Forth and Clyde Canal as a source of supply because of the filth thrown into it by sloops and passage boats. The source he recommended was the Garngad Burn, to be supplemented in summer by the Monkland Canal. He proposed to distribute the water through the city by means of elmwood pipes, and pointed out that the undertaking might prove highly profitable, as several water companies in England enjoyed revenues of from £1500 to £50,000 sterling per annum. Even this bait did not stimulate the city fathers to action, and again the project was laid aside and forgotten.⁸

In 1795, when the barracks were being built in Gallowgate, the contractor arranged for a water supply to be brought in a one-inch leaden pipe from George Macintosh's ground at Dunchattan, and the Town Council hit upon the economical idea of asking that the pipe should be increased in size to 1½ inch, and that the extra water thus obtained should be distributed to the inhabitants in Gallowgate, whose supply from

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 8th Nov., 1769; 1st Oct., 1770; 16th Mar., 29th Nov., 1775; 27th Nov., 1776.

⁷ *Ibid.* vol. viii., p. 633. 12th Feb., 1783; 17th Dec., 1789. *Marwick, Water Supply*, p. 55.

⁸ *Ibid.* 23rd Oct., 1788; 19th Sept., 1792.

the wells and streams was running short. Two years later this arrangement was carried out by a subscription of the owners in Gallowgate.⁹

Still later, in 1800, the Town Council paid Bryce Macquiston, land surveyor and engineer, a fee of £21 for five different schemes for supplying the city with water to be pumped from the Clyde by steam engines. Public opinion, however, was against any public outlay, and the project was again dropped.¹⁰

As in undertakings of more recent date, like the installation of a tramway system and of electric lighting, it was not till private enterprise had proved its feasibility that the Town Council ventured upon the undertaking of bringing an outside supply of water to the city. The projector of this business was William Harley, a native of Glendevon, who had learned weaving at Kinross, and made money as a gingham manufacturer in South Frederick Street. A man of public spirit, he carried on a great Sunday school and evening classes in the Briggate, and drew up a scheme for ensuring that every child in Glasgow should receive an education. He also joined Robert Haldane of Airthrey in touring the country to establish Congregational churches: the little church at Sannox in Arran was one of their planting.

In 1802 Harley developed in a new direction. He bought a house named Willowbank, in the Sauchy Haugh, now Sauchiehall Street, near the site of the present Blythswood Street, and two years later he set about his famous enterprise of supplying Glasgow with water. There was a strong flowing spring at Willowbank. He led its water in a pipe to a tank on the spot where the Tramway Offices now stand in Bath Street, and from that tank he distributed supplies by means of pony carts throughout the town. The water was sold at a halfpenny a stoup, and is said to have brought him a revenue of several thousand pounds a year.

⁹ *Ibid.* 1st June, 1795; 17th Mar., 1797.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 19th April, 1800.

This enterprise did not continue long without competition. Its evident success stimulated certain other citizens to form a Glasgow Water Works Company. In support of this scheme the Town Council subscribed £1000. The company secured powers from Parliament to pump water from the Clyde and distribute it in pipes throughout the city. It began operations in 1806, and had its pumping station and chief reservoir at Dalmarnock, with other reservoirs at Sydney Street and Rottenrow.¹ In the following year, 1807, another body entered the arena. "The Company of Proprietors of the Cranstonhill Water-works" obtained authority to pump water from the Clyde at Anderston Quay, and distribute it from reservoirs at Cranstonhill. This company was to supply the suburbs only, and not to encroach upon the royalty without permission of the Town Council.² By reason of increasing steamboat and other traffic on the river, the Clyde water at Anderston became unfit for use, and in 1819 the company secured powers to pump its supplies at Dalmarnock. In 1838 the two companies were amalgamated, and ten years later a further supply was introduced by the Gorbals Gravitation Company, which brought water to Gorbals and the southern suburbs from the Brock Burn and other streams and lochs in Renfrewshire, six miles away. These companies kept the city supplied till the Town Council in 1855 took over the water companies, and proceeded to bring a more ample and permanent flow from Loch Katrine, through the waterworks which were opened by Queen Victoria on 14th October, 1859.³

Meanwhile William Harley did not confine himself to the supply of water for domestic purposes. Adjoining his reservoir he established baths, and on the top of Blythswood Hill, now covered by Blythswood Square, he laid out pleasure gardens

¹ *Burgh Records*, 25th Feb., 14th March, 1805; 28th Feb., 1806.

² *Ibid.* 9th June, 1807; 26th Jan., 24th Mar., 1808.

³ For details see Sir James Marwick's *Water Supply*, etc.

after the style of Vauxhall and Ranelagh at London. He feued all the rising ground westward from St. George's Church, and, as an approach to his pleasure gardens, built a bridge over the St. Enoch Burn, and laid out the street which took its name from his bath establishment. He reclaimed and cultivated Garnet Hill, and grew there strawberries of a particularly fine flavour for the enjoyment of the visitors to his Blythwood gardens, while the cream to be consumed with these dainties came from a farm which he purchased at Sighthill.

After their first novelty the public tired of the pleasure gardens, with their bowling-green and strawberry arbours, and dubbed the view tower and summer house which he had built in the centre as "Harley's Folly." The tower, however, was afterwards used as an observatory by the University authorities until the erection of a special building for the purpose, and Harley proceeded to plan the building of Blythwood Square as well as St. Vincent Street, West George Street, Sauchiehall Street, and other residential quarters.

As with the pleasure gardens the public tired of Harley's baths after their first novelty had worn off. But meanwhile, beside the baths, to supply the demand for some refreshment after a plunge, one cow and then another had been installed, the enterprise of supplying Glasgow with sweet clean milk had been set afoot, and by and by the great establishment by which William Harley is best remembered came into existence. "Harley's Byres" housed 260 cows, with numerous calves and pigs, all scrupulously groomed, tended, and fed. The public paid a fee to see the establishment, and its fame spread through Europe. From these byres the milk was distributed throughout the city in well-appointed carts, with harness and brass shining, and every detail in perfect order. Harley was the pioneer, a long way ahead of their time, of the great public baths and spotless hygienic dairies which are notable features of the life

of every great city to-day. In 1814 the Highland Society presented him with a piece of plate bearing a complimentary inscription; the visitors to the byres included the future Emperor Nicholas of Russia, and many other foreign princes, and the charge for public admission is said to have realized as much as £200 a year.

Harley's next enterprise, begun at the request of a number of the principal citizens, was to supply the inhabitants of Glasgow with pure and wholesome bread. In this again he shewed the way for the development of an industry in which Glasgow till the present day remains second to none.

This new venture, however, started in 1815, was only beginning to establish itself when, with the British victory at Waterloo, the long Napoleonic wars came to an end. As has happened after a more recent war, the entire trade and industry of the country suffered dislocation. While industry was adapting itself to new requirements and commerce was finding its way into fresh channels, there was widespread suffering among the working classes, and in the maelstrom many long established and previously prosperous businesses went down. Among these were Harley's many enterprises. He was forced into bankruptcy; his assets were sold at throw-away prices, the great establishment in Bath Street, which had cost over £10,000, realizing no more than £2550; and his fortune of £54,000 disappeared. He died in London in 1829 on his way to St. Petersburg, to organize a dairy enterprise at the invitation of the Russian Czar.⁴

⁴ *William Harley, a Citizen of Glasgow*, by J. Galloway, Glasgow, 1900. Before ruin came upon him Harley had acquired the old mansion of Enoch Bank, near his baths and byres, and was residing there in 1810 and 1818.—*Burgh Records*, 19th July, 1810; 14th Jan., 1818.

CHAPTER XLVI

A POLICE ACT AND A THIRD CANAL

THE strésses of the war with France, and the scarcity of food, brought about certain changes which may not have appeared very striking at the time, but which were actually the signs of far-reaching new developments. One of these changes was the giving up by the Town Council of what was known as the " assize of bread." From time immemorial the city fathers had ordained not only the weight of the loaf, but the price at which it must be sold. This custom deprived the public of all the advantage which should accrue from the competition of different bakers. It was an interference with the law of nature which secures efficiency and rewards enterprise. Under the pressure of necessity the Town Council made up its mind to depart from its ancient custom. It ordained that the weight of the loaf must remain uniform, but it left the bakers to sell at their own prices, and trusted to the competition among them to protect the public from an overcharge.¹

To the same period belongs what may be regarded as Glasgow's first comprehensive " omnibus " Act of Parliament. This included such various matters as the extension of the royalty of the burgh over certain adjoining lands, the division of the city into wards, the paving, lighting, and cleansing of the streets, the regulation of police and markets, and the raising of money for these purposes. The Lord Provost himself attended in London to secure the passing of the bill, and the account he

¹ *Burgh Records*, 29th Jan., 1801.

afterwards furnished to the Town Council of his activities to that end throws an interesting light on the procedure of that time. He had to persuade the Speaker, in a preliminary interview, that certain points were relevant, had to yield certain points to Lord Walsingham before his lordship, as chairman of committee, would introduce the bill to the House of Lords, and had to secure the presence of a sufficient number of peers to have the measure passed. Finally, the expense incurred in securing the Act was £259 7s. 8d. Evidently both tact and energy were required on the part of the Lord Provost, and so well pleased was the Town Council with his efforts that it presented him with a special piece of plate.²

Curiously enough, the omnibus bill did not include powers to deal with another important matter which was then calling for attention. For years the labour entailed in carrying on the affairs of the city had made it difficult to secure men of ability and standing as magistrates and councillors. Fines for refusing to accept office were again and again increased, till in 1801 they amounted to as much as £80 for a lord provost, bailie, dean of guild or deacon-convener, and £40 for an ordinary councillor.³ As a way out of the difficulty it was resolved to increase the number of councillors and magistrates. This involved an alteration in the "sett" or constitution of the burgh. It might have been supposed that this alteration could be made by Act of Parliament. The Speaker of the House of Commons, however, gave it as his opinion that the proper procedure was by a charter from the King.⁴ In the end it was ascertained that since the Union similar alterations in the setts of several burghs in Scotland had been made by authority of the Convention of Royal Burghs. A petition was therefore prepared, and the desired alterations were made by that authority. Under the

² *Burgh Records*, 20th Jan., 3rd July, 1800; 1st July, 1801.

³ *Ibid.* 5th Feb., 9th March, 2nd Oct., 1801.

⁴ *Ibid.* 10th April, 1801.

new sett the town was provided with three merchant and two trades bailies instead of two and one respectively.⁵

Considering its traditions, and the actual powers which it possessed, there is room to marvel and perhaps to regret, that the Convention of Burghs did not assume a larger share in the local government of Scotland. After the Union of the Parliaments it had an opportunity to develop functions which might have been of very great service to the country, but, perhaps for lack of a leader of vision and energy, its powers and possibilities were allowed to slip and disappear, till, in the end of the nineteenth century, its existence was all but forgotten.

Midway between the two dates, however, it still retained something of its earlier prestige. Proof of this is seen in a contention made by the Provost of Perth. At the meeting of the Convention in 1801 that dignitary produced and read to the members a letter written by James VI. in 1594, commanding the Earl Marischal to give the commissioner of Perth the second place, next the commissioners of Edinburgh and before the commissioners of Dundee, in the Scottish parliament. Taking this as a general patent of precedence, the Provost of Perth demanded that the Lord Provost of Glasgow should give up to him the seat on the right hand of the president of the Convention of Royal Burghs which he and his predecessors had occupied without challenge for a great length of time. The Convention itself decided the question by declaring that no member except the preses had a right to any particular seat. Against this the Provost of Perth protested, but the Lord Provost of Glasgow thought it more consistent with the dignity of his city to acquiesce in the decision.⁶

This was not the only question of dignity in which the first

⁵ *Ibid.* 31st July, 1801. The powers of the Convention to alter setts of burghs was challenged in 1824 by the law officers of the Crown, but the Glasgow alterations of 1748 and 1801 were not interfered with.—*Ibid.* 29th Oct., 7th Dec., 1824.

⁶ *Ibid.* 7th Feb., 1803 ; 26th July, 1804.

magistrate of Glasgow was called to exercise a dignified acquiescence. For a considerable number of years it had been the practice, when the Assize Courts were held in Glasgow, for the Lord Provost to sit on the bench with the judges. At the visit of the court in 1800, however, the Lords of Justiciary pointed out that the distinction was apt to appear invidious, as it was extended to the chief magistrate of no other burgh ; and they recommended that some other seat of eminence should be provided for the Lord Provost. After consulting the magistrates, the Lord Provost replied with sense and dignity that he considered he would be more respectably seated at the head of his own bench of magistrates than in any other place whatever, and from that date he took his seat accordingly.⁷

The dignity of others besides the Lord Provost was giving the Town Council no little concern and trouble at that time. As a result of the war the cost of living had risen very considerably. To meet the rise, the town's officials one after another applied for and received increases of salary, while the fees charged by the town clerks were revised and augmented.⁸ Presently the claims of the city ministers were brought before the Council for consideration. There were now seven of these, besides the ministers of the Inner High and the Barony Churches. As recently as 1788 their stipends had been increased to £165, and in 1796 to £200, but it was stated that these stipends were now inadequate to support the expense of living and the dignity of the ministry. The magistrates and Council accordingly decided to augment the stipends by £50 apiece.⁹ Over this proposal arose one of the set battles which have from time to time enlivened the proceedings in the civic parliament. One of the councillors, Robert Finlay, made a formal protest, which he required should be entered in the records, and " took instruments in the hands of the town clerk with

⁷ *Burgh Records*, 17th March, 1801.

⁸ *Ibid.* 5th Feb., 1801.

⁹ *Ibid.* 31st July, 4th Sept., 1801.

one guinea of gold." His protest was based upon the fact that for years the income of the city had been less than the expenditure. In the previous year, 1800, the revenue had been no more than £9817 12s. 3d., while the expenditure had amounted to £11,199 4s. 9d. The Lord Provost and his supporters, however, were optimists; they pointed out that the city's revenue was growing—in five years it had risen by nearly £1500. The Town Council, further, had lands to feu, valued at £71,000. The protest and answer occupy many pages of the records, but the augmentation of stipend was declared to be both necessary and expedient, and forthwith took effect.¹⁰

The optimism of the Lord Provost seemed to be justified by the promise of better times when, in the following year, peace was declared with France. Forthwith, upon that event, the Town Council sent a letter of congratulation to King George, and appointed a committee to raise a public subscription for the erection of a statue to William Pitt.¹ That statue, of white marble, by Flaxman, now in the city's Art Galleries at Kelvingrove, has been esteemed the finest achievement of the sculptor's art in possession of Glasgow.

Alas, the peace with France was no more than a pretence, a device to allow that country to recruit its forces for a still greater effort to over-rule Europe. The war was renewed in 1803, and at once the country and Glasgow again were engrossed in military undertakings. In March the Town Council had still another occasion to congratulate the King on escape from a conspiracy against his life, the design of Colonel Despard to slay the king, seize the Government buildings, and establish "constitutional independence and the equalization of all civic rights."² In June, a meeting of the citizens sent an offer to

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 2nd Oct., 6th Nov., 1801. Seven years later the stipends were raised to £300.—*Ibid.* 24th May, 1808.

¹ *Ibid.* 15th May, 7th June, 1802.

² *Ibid.* 4th March, 1803. Despard was executed for high treason on 21st February.

the Government to raise a regiment of volunteers, and two months later the Council presented that regiment with a pair of colours, and subscribed 500 guineas for its outfit. Colonel Campbell, Inspecting Field Officer for the district, proposed to raise another regiment at his own expense, if the city would lend him its name. The offer was supported by Campbell of Blythswood, but for some reason was not accepted.³ Another battalion of volunteers, however, was raised by the Trades House, while yet a third battalion had been enrolled by the Glasgow Grocers before the following May.⁴

An outstanding event was the great review of troops held on Glasgow Green in the autumn of 1804. The forces comprised some seven thousand men with eight guns, and, besides a regiment of dragoons from Hamilton, a regiment of infantry of the line, and a regiment of regular militia, included Glasgow Volunteer Light Cavalry, Glasgow Volunteer Sharpshooters, five regiments of Glasgow Volunteers, Canal Volunteers, two battalions of Paisley Volunteers, Greenock and Port Glasgow Volunteers, and Volunteer companies from Dunbarton, Kilsyth, Cumbernauld, Airdrie, and Hamilton. The troops were reviewed by the Earl of Moira, afterwards Marquis of Hastings, Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, and with the smoke and fire, the thunder of the artillery and the continuous roll of musketry, thrilled the immense gathering of people who had crowded into the city for the occasion, almost as much as an actual battle would have done.⁵

The patriotic enthusiasm apparently fired all classes. On one occasion this gave rise to serious trouble. Two mason's

³ *Burgh Records*, 9th June, 16th Aug., 21st Sept., 1803.

⁴ *Ibid.* 3rd Oct., 1803; 21st May, 14th Sept., 1804. Further corps raised in Glasgow to meet the national emergency were the Highlanders, the Sharpshooters, the Anderston Volunteers, the Canal Volunteers, the Armed Association, and the Volunteer Light Horse.—*Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 375 note. The total ran to 5000 infantry and 100 cavalry.

⁵ *Glasgow Past and Present*, vol. i. p. 236.

apprentices broke their indentures, and went on board His Majesty's ship *Tourterelle* as volunteers. Their master applied to the water bailie for a warrant to apprehend the runaways, but the bailie's messenger was deforced by Captain Simpson, the commander of the warship. The water bailie thereupon issued a warrant for the apprehension of the captain himself, and he was duly arrested at Greenock. Captain Simpson, however, asked permission to call upon the magistrates of Greenock, then sitting in their council chamber. These magistrates forthwith denied the power of the water bailie to grant warrants within their jurisdiction. They accordingly liberated the captain and committed the messenger. Simpson then brought an action before the High Court of Admiralty, but the orders of that court were "declined to be implemented" on the ground that it had no authority in the matter of jurisdictions. Against its decree an action was brought by the water bailie before the Court of Session, where Lord Woodhouselee called for the appearance of both Simpson and the High Admiral. Petitions and complaints were prepared, and altogether something of a cause célèbre appeared to be on the way, when it was deemed more prudent, in the position of public affairs, to make the action one for declaration of the water bailie's jurisdiction over the River Clyde and its harbours.⁶ Altogether it was a very pretty embroilment which arose out of the warlike ardour of a couple of runaway apprentices.

Amid these military preoccupations, nevertheless, the general life and enterprise of Glasgow went forward with surprising steadiness. Among other matters the music lovers of the city carried on their accomplishment. As early as 1775

⁶ *Ibid.* 14th Sept., 1804. The jurisdiction of the Water Bailie had been previously questioned in 1792 in a decision regarding a case of theft from one of the boats carrying merchandise between Glasgow and Greenock. Against the powers of the Water Bailie the jurisdiction of the ancient Vice-Admiral of Scotland was cited, but the Court of Session decided in favour of the Water Bailie.—Senex, *Old Glasgow*, p. 326.

there was an organ in use in the English Episcopal Chapel beside Glasgow Green, which from that fact got the name of "the Whistlin' Kirk."⁷ Twenty-one years later a Sacred Music Society was started, and brought from York an organ of nineteen stops, "more powerful and smooth than any in Scotland."⁸ The society set up its organ and held its practisings and concerts first in the Trades Hall in Glassford Street. Presently, however, it was granted by the Town Council the use of a middle space in the Cathedral, known at that time as "the Choir."⁹ This was the first organ set up in a Presbyterian church in the West of Scotland, but it was not used for public worship there. Upon the decline of the Sacred Music Society it was bought by a company of the sitters in St. Andrew's Church. But the hopes of these enthusiasts were destined to disappointment. In August 1807, the news went round the town that an organ had been played at a Sunday service in that church. It was not the organ purchased from the Sacred Music Society, but a smaller "chamber" instrument hired apparently by way of trial. Instantly an angry storm of protest arose, which was joined by presbytery, provost, and public, and before the outcry the Rev. William Ritchie, D.D., minister of the congregation, deemed it prudent to bow. The organ went back to its lender, James Steven, music-seller in Wilson Street, but the controversy went on for months. In the end the organ in the Cathedral, which had belonged to the Sacred Music Society, was acquired by St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, and was transferred thither through the snows of 1812, the Moscow winter.¹⁰ Several generations were to come and go before Town Council and Presbytery gave their consent

⁷ *Glasghu Facies*, p. 562.

⁸ Denholm, *Hist. Glasgow*, p. 350.

⁹ *Burgh Records*, 7th Aug., 22nd Aug., 1800; 8th Jan., 1802.

¹⁰ *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 45. *Burgh Records*, 8th Sept., 1806; 1st Sept., 24th Sept., 1807; 24th May, 1808.



SIR JOHN MOORE, 1761-1809.
From the portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

to the introduction of the "kist o' whistles" in the city churches.

In 1800 the Town Council spent a modest sum in repairing the foundations of the Old Bridge at the foot of the Stockwellgate. In the following year it built its first police office above the guardhouse in Candleriggs; and in 1802 it encouraged James and David Laurie to make improvements on the south bank of the river, to enable them to lay out their new southside suburb of Lauriston, with its stately riverside front of Carlton Place.¹

The cleansing of the streets was still carried out by the police, the night watchmen devoting two hours twice a week to the job.² Modern ideas of hygiene, however, were on the way. For nearly a hundred years, since Lady Mary Wortley Montagu wrote her famous letter from Adrianople, endeavours had been made to meet the deadly ravages of smallpox by inoculation from the human patient. Nevertheless at the end of the eighteenth century as many as one tenth of the population died of the disease, and large numbers of persons, including the national poet, Robert Burns, were "sair marked wi' the pox."³ Between 1796 and 1798, however, Dr. Jenner introduced "vaccination," or inoculation with the cow-pox, as a preventive of the disease. Within five years, on the suggestion of Mr. Scott-Moncrieff, Glasgow Town Council appointed a committee to consider the new process, and five years later still it unanimously admitted Jenner to be an honorary Burgess as a mark of the high sense it entertained "of the important benefits conferred on mankind by his invaluable discovery."⁴

At the same time the first hint was given of another problem

¹ *Burgh Records*, 17th Oct., 1800; 9th March, 1801; 22nd June, 12th July, 1802.

² Mackinnon, *Social and Industrial History of Scotland*, p. 246.

³ Hedderwick, *Backward Glances*, p. 23.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 22nd April, 1803; 1st Sept., 1808.

affecting the health of the citizens which has troubled the well-wishers of Glasgow from that day till now. With the rise of industrialism and the coming of the steam engine, the clear atmosphere of what had formerly been a garden city began to be darkened with the cloud of smoke. Already, apparently, some alarm or complaint had arisen on the subject, and there was one ingenious individual who saw his way to turn that public feeling to his private advantage. James Murdoch, junior, owner of a property in the Havannah, a district north of the College in High Street, proposed to set up a factory there. For this he required a supply of water, and he petitioned the Town Council to allow him to lay a one-inch pipe from the Molendinar. By way of inducement he stated that the engine he proposed to introduce would "consume its own smoke." Permission was granted, but the Council took the precaution of stipulating that the chimney of Murdoch's engine should be at least fifty feet high. A month later the ingenious manufacturer asked to be relieved of his undertaking to consume his own smoke, but the Council held him to it, and presumably he had to do without his free water supply. More than a hundred years have passed since then, and the City Fathers are still battling with the problem of enabling and inducing the citizens of Glasgow to "consume their own smoke."⁵

The Town Council, however, was just then invited to consider another and greater project which illustrates the undaunted spirit of the citizens in face of the great war then raging. In February 1803, the Council subscribed twenty guineas towards the expenses of surveying the route of a canal proposed to be made from Glasgow to Saltcoats.⁶ The projector of this enterprise was Hugh, 12th Earl of Eglinton, the "Sodger Hugh" of Burns's poems, and perhaps the author of the beautiful "Canadian Highlanders' Boatsong." On

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 11th March, 1st April, 26th May, 1803.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 28th Feb., 1803.

inheriting the title and estates this enlightened nobleman had conceived the idea of doing a service to the city of Glasgow and improving his family possessions at the same time.

So far the deepening of the Clyde by Golborne's plan had not succeeded in making the river a highway for ocean-going ships. The barges, gabbers, and fly-boats which carried the traffic still found Dunglass a very necessary half-way harbour when the tide turned or the weather made the passage difficult.⁷ On the other side of the river the use of the bank as a towing-path had been objected to by Archibald Speirs of Elderslie, the son of the famous "Tobacco Lord," and by his tenants at Shieldhall and Bellahouston, and was presently made the subject of heavy damages in a court of law.⁸ In view of these difficulties and the difficulties of the navigation of the river itself, the Forth and Clyde Canal, with its harbour at Port Dundas, was regarded by many as the future shipping outlet of the city, rather than the shallow Clyde, with its harbour at the Broomielaw.

Ideas on the subject were probably quickened by an event which took place in 1802. In that year, William Symington, the Leadhills engineer, following his experiments on Dalswinton Loch, placed the world's first practical steamer, the "Charlotte Dundas," on the Forth and Clyde Canal. Further, in the same year a bid for the Glasgow trade was made on behalf of Greenock. A meeting was held in that town to consider the project of

⁷ In 1801 the masters and owners of vessels navigating the river complained to the Town Council regarding encroachments by Dunlop of Garnkirk and Dixon of Govan Ironworks on the harbour facilities at Dunglass, and six months later, in drawing up a table of fares for the fly-boats, the Council specified the charge to be made for passengers landing or embarking there.—*Ibid.* 10th April, 14th Oct., 1801.

⁸ *Ibid.* 10th July, 1801; 13th Dec., 1803; 24th Jan., 15th Nov., 1804; 16th Dec., 1805; *et seq.* The salmon fishing on the Clyde was still of some value. In 1798 David Tod, a proprietor on the south bank at the harbour, was accused of interrupting the draft of the town's salmon fishing opposite his grounds, and two years later these salmon fishings from the bridge downwards were let for three years at £26 per annum.—*Ibid.* 5th July, 1798; 13th Jan., 1800.

constructing an iron railroad between Glasgow, Paisley, and Greenock, and the Town Council of Glasgow was approached on the subject. That body replied that it had "no interest or concern" in the matter, and refused to give it any countenance; but the suggestion shews that minds were at work on the subject.⁹

The Earl remembered that the original harbour for Glasgow's trade overseas had been Irvine, on the Ayrshire coast, and he reasoned that another harbour on the Ayrshire coast might be made the entrepôt of Glasgow's trade in days to come if the proper measures were taken. Saltcoats, on his own estate, was already a place of some shipping of salt and coal, the latter commodity being brought to it from the coal-pits by means of a canal. He planned, accordingly, a great harbour at Ardrossan, close to that place, with a canal across country affording cheap communication with Glasgow. This was the enterprise for the original survey of which the Town Council subscribed twenty guineas. Three years later, on the invitation of the Earl, it subscribed £1000 towards the making of the canal,¹⁰ and the work was then begun at the same time as the building of the Ardrossan harbour. Work on the latter came to a standstill in 1815, when £100,000 had been spent on it, and the Earl's resources were exhausted; but it was resumed when his son, the thirteenth Earl, came of age in 1822, and was completed at a cost of as much again.

For similar reasons the making of the canal stopped when it had been completed no farther than from Glasgow to Johnstone in Renfrewshire. By the time when it might have been continued roads had been greatly improved and railways were on the way. For fifty years and more, however, a busy traffic was carried on the narrow winding waterway. Its terminus to the south of Glasgow was named Port Eglinton,

⁹ *Burgh Records*, 6th April, 1802.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 26th Aug., 8th Sept., 26th Sept., 1806.

from the name of its projector, and when, about the year 1807, by the joint action of Town Council, Trades House, Hutchesons' Hospital, and other land owners, a new "very splendid and convenient approach" to the city from Ayrshire was constructed to Jamaica Bridge, it received from that connection the name of Eglinton Street.¹

¹ *Ibid.* 19th March, 8th July, 1807.

CHAPTER XLVII

DR. JAMES CLELAND AND SIR JOHN MOORE

DURING those years of the Napoleonic War the population of Glasgow continued to increase rapidly. From 66,578 in 1791 it rose to 83,769 in 1801, the increase being more than the entire number of inhabitants in 1740, when the population numbered 17,043. By 1811 it had risen still more rapidly to 110,460.

Nor were the developments of the community in other directions checked. In 1804 its benevolence was directed to the sad condition of those mentally deranged. Till then these unfortunates, when paupers, had been confined in cells at the rear of the town's hospital or poorhouse, looking out on Rope-work Lane, while those in better circumstances were relegated to private asylums, the possible abuses of which were to be pictured at a later day in such writings as the novel of "Valentine Vox." The citizens of Glasgow were much ahead of their time in projecting an asylum under responsible and enlightened management, and in 1806 the Town Council granted a seal of cause to the managers of the institution, which at the present hour carries on its beneficent work as the Royal Glasgow Asylum at Gartnavel.¹

Though the ancient public "meithing" or riding of the marches had been stopped on account of the rabble and abuses which attended it, the magistrates found time to perambulate the boundaries of the royalty to make sure that these were not

¹ *Burgh Records*, 28th Dec., 1804; 26th May, 1806. The principal promoter of the asylum was Robert McNair of Belvidere.

infringed upon, a precaution which, as the facts shewed, was not without reason.²

For the third time, by way of ease to the public in the upper part of the town, the Town Council attacked that famous feature of the city, the "Bell o' the Brae," at the upper part of High Street, and lowered it still further.³

The city fathers also continued to provide generously for the wives and children of the Glasgow men who were fighting the country's battles; ⁴ and when news of Lord Nelson's great victory over the French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar reached this country, the magistrates and Town Council joined the pæan of national rejoicing over that immortal achievement by writing a letter of congratulation to the king, and the citizens rose promptly to the occasion by erecting a monument to the fallen admiral on Glasgow Green.⁵

The business and amusements of the citizens, however, went on. When the news of Trafalgar arrived there was pending before the Town Council a request for the use of a vacant piece of ground next the Theatre in Queen Street for a temporary circus, and the Council agreed to the request, though the projectors of the circus did not proceed with their enterprise.⁶

² *Ibid.* 2nd Aug., 1805.

³ *Ibid.* 20th Aug., 1805. This, however, was not the final alteration of the ancient landmark. In the course of the work of the City Improvement Trust in the latter part of the century, when the picturesque but insanitary old closes and houses of the region were swept away, a still further lowering of the thoroughfare took place. In early times the Bell o' the Brae must have been a really considerable eminence, entirely preventing a view of High Street from the Bishop's Castle, and rendering highly feasible an exploit such as that attributed to Sir William Wallace in the thirteenth century. This fact seems hitherto to have entirely escaped the notice of historians.

⁴ *Ibid.* 23rd May, 1805 and onward.

⁵ *Ibid.* 23rd Nov., 1805; 26th May, 1806. On Sunday, 5th August, 1810, during one of the most terrific thunderstorms which ever broke over Glasgow, Nelson's Monument was struck by lightning and rent nearly from top to bottom.—*Scots Magazine*, 1810, p. 633.

⁶ *Ibid.* 27th Dec., 1805; 27th Jan., 1806.

More important was the building of another church, the eighth under the patronage of the Town Council. Once again the Wynd Church, in the crowded region south of Trongate, was becoming dilapidated. Fifty years earlier St. Andrew's Church had been built to take its place. But the Wynd Church remained. Its minister was the redoubtable Dr. Porteous, "for forty years the great clerical leader of the west," and the building was no longer large enough to contain those who wished to attend his services. The Town Council therefore proceeded to build St. George's Church. The site first proposed was at St. Vincent Street, but Camperdown Place, now West George Street, was finally fixed upon, and the building was thus made to close another fine city vista, westward from George Square.

The erection of this church brought into public notice a personage who was to be one of the most outstanding figures in the life of Glasgow during the next thirty years. The whole work of superintending the building was undertaken "in the most handsome manner," free of charge, by Bailie James Cleland, who himself laid the foundation stone. The work was expeditiously carried out, and in recognition of his services the Town Council presented Cleland with a piece of plate.⁷ This was the first of many important services done for the City by James Cleland, who is best remembered to-day by the "Annals of Glasgow," in two volumes, which he wrote for behoof of the funds of the Royal Infirmary in 1816. The annalist was a wright and builder, and it was upon his plans that the new Grammar or High School was erected between upper Montrose Street and John Street in 1807.⁸ Seven years later he purchased the tolbooth at the foot of High Street, excepting the beautiful old steeple, and erected a handsome building on the site.⁹ In view of his shrewdness and

⁷ *Burgh Records*, 8th Aug., 26th Aug., 1806; 23rd April, 1807; 22nd Sept., 5th Nov., 1808.

⁸ *Ibid.* 21st Oct., 1807.

⁹ *Ibid.* 4th Feb., 1814.

services a new office was created for him, and he was made Superintendent of Works.¹⁰ So well pleased was the Town Council with his labours that a year after his appointment it raised his salary from £200 to £500.¹ This was the beginning of a highly interesting and useful public career. During the times of hardship which culminated in the "Radical Risings" in 1819 and 1820 he directed the labours of the weavers and other unemployed in the work which was found for them in improving Glasgow Green, a service for which the Town Council made him a complimentary gift of £50.² This work was in compliance with "A Description of the Manner of improving the Green of Glasgow" which he had drawn up and printed seven years earlier. It included the making of sewers and a parapet wall in front of Monteith Row, the covering in of the Camlachie Burn, and the draining and levelling of the Calton Green and part of the High Green, resulting in the addition of several acres of grass land to the city's public park.³ Cleland also carried out a census of the population of Glasgow and its suburbs, printed in 1820, which contained several new features, and earned the high commendation of the Town Council.⁴ Three years later a special vote of thanks was recorded for his erudite and successful labour in adjusting the different weights and measures used in the city, and for the ability and accuracy of his historical treatise on the subject.⁵ Following this achievement his salary was spontaneously raised by £100, and two years later, when he had superintended the rebuilding of the Ramshorn Church, he was awarded a special

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 4th Feb., 6th Sept., 1814.

¹ *Ibid.* 25th July, 1815.

² *Ibid.* 2nd May, 1820; 20th Feb., 1821.

³ *Ibid.* 16th Jan., 1821. The most complete account of the Green and its history is that furnished by Cleland in his *Annals of Glasgow*, ii. 457, reproduced verbatim, with additions, by Senex in *Old Glasgow and its Environs*, p. 56.

⁴ *Ibid.* 29th May, 1820.

⁵ *Ibid.* 4th Feb., 1823.

gift of a hundred guineas, and had his salary increased by another £150.⁶

One of Cleland's numerous suggestions for the improvement of the city, which was not carried out, would have made a curious difference in the appearance of Glasgow to-day. St. George's Church, the building of which had been superintended by himself, had certain architectural shortcomings. The four large statues with which Stark, the designer, had proposed to ornament the tower, had proved too expensive, and had been replaced by four much less effective stone pinnacles. Also, while the front towards Buchanan Street was dignified enough, the rear was barnlike and commonplace. It was probably in view of these facts that Cleland made his suggestion. In a letter to the Lord Provost in 1829 he proposed that St. George's Church should be converted into Council Chambers, with Guild Hall, Court Hall, and Committee rooms, and that the congregation should be removed to a new church in Nile Street, facing the end of Regent Street. By selling the crypt and surrounding ground for burying-places, the cost of the two buildings would, he estimated, be reduced to £3000.⁷

This was one of the very few of Cleland's schemes which definitely missed fire.⁸ It has been stated, no doubt with justice, that "no one man in Glasgow ever had to do with the getting up of so many churches, monuments, and public works

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 13th Oct., 1824; 27th Jan., 14th Feb., 17th Aug., 1826.

⁷ Frazer, *The Making of Buchanan Street*, p. 66. Cleland's proposal was strongly opposed by a committee of citizens, who feared that the removal of the Council Chambers westward would depreciate the value of property east of the Cross.—*Burgh Records*, 31st March, 1829.

⁸ Another was his suggestion in 1813 for raising a sum of £30,000 by taxation for the building and endowment of two new churches in the city, and the increase of all the city ministers' stipends by £100. He calculated the rental of the city at that time to be not less than £200,000.—*Burgh Records*, 16th Sept., 7th Dec., 1813. Still another of Cleland's suggestions which was not accepted was to roof over the burying-ground round the Ramshorn Church and use the space thus provided above the arches as a market. The burying-ground would then have become a sort of crypt.—*Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 544.

of all kinds." As late as the year 1837 he was chairman of the committee which organized the great dinner to Sir Robert Peel, and erected for the purpose the famous Peel Pavilion in the orchard behind the house of Gordon of Aikenhead in Buchanan Street, which is now Princes Square.⁹ He was the author also of many treatises on public matters which were notable for their accuracy and practical utility. Of these Dr. Dibdin, the celebrated bibliographer, wrote "I hold in my hand the accurate and triumphant folio volume of the great statist of the north, Dr. James Cleland, by which we are carefully initiated into all the mysteries of commerce and mazes of prosperity."

From his letters recorded in the town's minutes, Cleland appears to have had a personality of much modesty, graciousness, and tact, and from first to last the Council held him in the highest regard. He was held in similar regard by the authorities of the University, who conferred on him the degree of LL.D. When he retired from the office of Superintendent of Works in 1834 a meeting of the most prominent citizens was held in the Black Bull Hotel, a subscription of £4603 6s. was raised, and a building known as the "Cleland Testimonial," erected with it at the south-east corner of Sauchiehall Street and Buchanan Street, was presented to him as a token of public esteem.¹⁰

While Cleland was still at the beginning of his career of public utility, two proposals were made which for a considerable time failed to secure accomplishment. One of these was the making of a wet dock at the Broomielaw to provide accommodation for the increasing number of vessels coming up the river. The original proposal was to make the dock on the north side of the harbour, and apparently the plan was to enclose part of the river for the purpose. The suggestion however, was opposed by the owners of houses in the low-lying parts of the

⁹ *The Making of Buchanan Street*, p. 74.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 75.

town above the bridge, who feared that the obstruction would bring about the flooding of their property in times of spate.¹ In 1819, partly by way of relieving the serious unemployment and discontent of that time, the Government agreed to lend £30,000 for the making of the dock, and Telford, the celebrated engineer, was employed to make a plan.² In 1832 the project was removed to the south side of the river, and the Town Council, for £7370, sold to the Clyde Trustees part of the Windmillcroft opposite the Broomielaw³; but it was not till 1867 that the Kingston Dock, Glasgow's first artificial harbour basin on the Clyde, was actually opened.⁴

Of more ambitious scope was the next proposal of Cleland's time, which was still longer in attaining fulfilment. Glasgow was then supplying large numbers of recruits for the army, while its proportion of militia was greater than that of all the rest of Lanarkshire, and considerable difficulty arose from the fact that the whole management of these Crown matters was centred in the headquarters of the Lord Lieutenant of the county at Hamilton or Lanark. In the absence of the Marquess of Douglas, who was Lord Lieutenant, the magistrates approached the vice-lieutenant, Lord Belhaven, with the suggestion that the Lord Provost might be made, *ex officio*, a deputy-lieutenant. The suggestion, however, met with a rather definite snub. The Town Council then sent a letter to the Lord Advocate, to be laid before the Ministers of the Crown, asking that the city should be disjoined from the county of Lanark, and made a separate district, with a Lord Lieutenant of its own. The reply of Lord Melville, then all powerful in Scottish affairs, for the Government, was that a Lord Lieutenant could not be appointed till the city was made a county in itself.⁵ Thus the

¹ *Burgh Records*, 13th Feb., 19th March, 15th April, 1807.

² *Ibid.* 27th Dec., 1819; 22nd Aug., 29th Dec., 1820.

³ *Ibid.* vol. xi., p. 683.

⁴ Merwick, *The River Clyde*, p. 206 note.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 19th Dec., 1806; 21st Oct., 28th Oct., 1807; 28th March, 1808.

matter stood for something like a hundred years, till the city was made a separate county, with the Lord Provost as its Lord Lieutenant, in 1893.

Though these important projects were seriously delayed at the time, they were significant as proofs that the city was instinct with energy and alive with the spirit of progress. The narrower burghal ideas of previous centuries, it is true, had not yet all passed away. In 1808, for example, the Lord Provost was thanked for his zeal, when Dean of Guild, in the previous year, in compelling large numbers of unfreemen carrying on trade in the city to become burgesses. But the fact that the fees collected on the occasion amounted to £1200 shows that the old rule was breaking down, and that more and more strangers were settling in the city to contribute to its productiveness.⁶

Glasgow was shewing its spirit in military efforts not less than in industry. When Lord Macleod, eldest son of the Earl of Cromarty attainted for his part in "the '45," was in 1777 raising the first battalion Macleod's Highlanders, he was joined at Elgin by 236 Lowlanders and 34 English and Irish recruits, enrolled in Glasgow. In consequence of his distinguished service with that battalion, Lord Macleod had the forfeited Cromarty estates restored to him. In 1786 the regiment took the name of the 71st. In 1804, when a second battalion was embodied at Dunbarton, the recruiting was carried on so successfully in Glasgow that the regiment got the name of "The Glasgow Highland Light Infantry," and four years later the name was approved by King George III. The fact that Lord Macleod's family name was Mackenzie accounts for the tartan still worn by this famous Glasgow regiment.⁷

In 1808 the city also offered to raise another regiment, but Lord Castlereagh declined to sanction the raising of a new

⁶ *Ibid.* 20th Oct., 1808.

⁷ Adam, *Clans, Septs, and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands*, p. 297.

corps while the existing forces remained below their appointed strength.⁸

At the same time Glasgow was not slow to do honour to the military heroes of the hour. It conferred its honorary burghship on Viscount Cathcart and Admiral Hood,⁹ and, two months later, on receiving news of the death of Sir John Moore in the hour of victory at Corunna, it at once took measures to raise a monument to his memory, the Town Council opening the subscription with £100.¹⁰

That famous native of Glasgow, son of Dr. John Moore, the author of "Zeluco" and friend of Robert Burns, shares with Colin McLiver or Campbell, Lord Clyde, the honour of being Glasgow's most illustrious soldier son. As a British general in the Napoleonic wars, his achievement ranks second only to that of the Duke of Wellington, but he had the fate of nearly every leader who makes the first essay in a campaign for this country, of being inadequately supplied with men and means.¹

In the hour when Sir John Moore fell at the battle of Corunna the fortunes of Britain in her war with Napoleon on the continent of Europe were at their lowest. The French despot was master of all that continent, and had placed his brothers on four of its thrones. When Spain rose against the

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 4th March, 1808.

⁹ *Ibid.* 2nd Dec., 1808.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 7th Feb., 1809.

¹ Another notable Glasgow soldier of the same period was Major-General Sir Thomas Monroe. Of him George Canning said, "Europe never produced a more accomplished statesman, nor India, so fertile in heroes, a more skilful soldier." Born in 1761, Monroe was the son of a substantial merchant who resided in the Stockwellgate. After three years at Glasgow University he went to India at the age of eighteen, as an infantry cadet. He served in the war against Hyder Ali, acted as secretary in the administration of Mysore, and formed a lasting friendship with Colonel Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington. He greatly distinguished himself in organizing and developing Indian administration. After the second Mahratta war, in which he served as a brigadier-general, he was made a K.C.B., and appointed Governor of Madras, and for his services in the first Burmah war he received a baronetcy. He was making a farewell tour of the ceded territories when he died of cholera in 1827.

usurpation of its crown the British minister Canning had poured supplies into that country, and sent Moore with his small army to its help. But Napoleon asserted his power by marching upon Madrid with two hundred thousand men, and the defeat of the Spanish forces on the Ebro, and the retreat and death of Moore, seemed to end the campaign. Following that event the second Earl of Chatham had lost a British army in the marches of Walcheren, Napoleon had crushed an Austrian effort at the battle of Wagram, and Wellesley, who had taken up the forlorn hope in Spain, after winning one desperate battle and a peerage at Talavera, had been forced by Marshal Soult to retire on Badajos. In view of these reverses something like a panic seized London, where a petition was signed for the withdrawal of the British forces from the Peninsula.²

It is of interest to find that, in that trying time, the spirit of Glasgow remained undaunted. Nothing could better shew this to be the case than the account of the proceedings in the northern city on the occasion of its celebration of the jubilee of King George III. The date was the 25th of October, 1809, and in describing what took place the records of the Town Council furnish a vivid picture.

"This being the day," runs that account, "on which our gracious Sovereign entered into the 50th year of his reign, the same was celebrated in the city of Glasgow with every demonstration of affection and joy. At 8 o'clock in the morning the great bells of the city commenced ringing, and continued till ten. At half-past ten the lord provost, magistrates, and council, with the ministers of the city in their gowns and bands, the lord dean of guild and members of the Merchants House, the deacon-convener and members of the Trades House, the lord rector of the University of Glasgow and the principal and professors in their gowns, the officers of the 1st, 4th, 5th and 6th Royal Lanarkshire local militia, assembled in the town hall,

² Green, *Short History*, p. 825.

and went in grand procession to Saint George's Church, where an excellent sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Porteous from *Chronicles* c. xxix. v. 20 : ' And David said unto all the congregation, " Now bless the Lord your God." ' And all the congregation blessed the Lord God of their fathers, and bowed down their heads, and worshipped the Lord and the King.' After the service an appropriate hymn was sung by the band, and the King's anthem in full chorus. The procession then returned in the same order to the town hall. The streets were lined by the permanent staff of the before-mentioned regiments of local militia. From 12 till 2 appropriate tunes were played on the music bells. At 6 the magistrates gave a grand entertainment in the town hall, which was numerously attended, enthusiasm and joy beaming in every countenance. After a short address by the lord provost, admirably suited to the occasion, many loyal and constitutional toasts given by his lordship were drunk with the most rapturous applause, the band of the Stirlingshire Militia playing appropriate tunes."³

³ *Burgh Records*, 25th Oct., 1809. More than once, at that period, Glasgow Town Council celebrated some notable event with a procession. At the laying of the foundation stone of St. George's Church in 1807, the city fathers, with the ministers and representatives of other public bodies, walked in procession from the Council Chambers to the spot, and in 1810 the magistrates and council walked in procession to the Low Green, where the Lord Provost laid the foundation stone of the new court house, public offices, and jail at the foot of Saltmarket.—*Ibid.* 3rd June, 1807 ; 18th Sept., 1810.



KIRKMAN FINLAY, 1773-1842.

From the portrait by John Graham Gilbert, R.S.A.

CHAPTER XLVIII

KIRKMAN FINLAY, HENRY BELL, AND DAVID NAPIER

ONE of the reasons for Glasgow's stronger feeling of confidence regarding the issue of the war with Napoleon may have arisen from the fact that the chief trade of the Glasgow merchants with the sugar colonies in the West Indies remained unhurt. Since the destruction of the French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar in 1805 and the capture of the Danish fleet after the bombardment of Copenhagen two years later, the British navy had kept the mastery of the seas. Not only was Napoleon's plan for the invasion of Britain made impossible, but all his efforts to interfere with British commerce were rendered futile. This was the snag upon which all Buonaparte's schemes of conquest finally came to grief. From west to east and from north to south he marched across the continent of Europe, defeating armies and destroying kingdoms ; but all the time he knew that across the blue waters of the narrow Channel, behind the cliffs which could be seen from Calais, lay an enemy whom he could not reach, but who, sooner or later, might send across an army which would strike a vital blow, and bring to ruin all the schemes and conquests of his career. This was, of course, what actually happened in the end, when a British expeditionary army under Wellington brought his whole ambitious achievement to wreck on the battlefield of Waterloo.

The consciousness of that possibility, and perhaps the foreboding of that event, urged him to attempt the destruction of British resources by a boycott of British trade. The famous

decree which he issued from Berlin in November, 1806, declared the British islands to be in a state of blockade. All commerce with Britain was forbidden, all British goods found in France or the territories of her allies were subject to confiscation, and the harbours of these countries were closed against all British vessels, or vessels which had touched at British ports. Napoleon, however, had no fleet with which to enforce these edicts, and as a matter of fact the countries of the continent could not very well, just then, get along without British manufactures. The Berlin decrees were made entirely ineffectual by a few daring British traders, who proceeded to set up a great contraband system for running British goods across the frontiers.

Among these contraband traders perhaps the most daring and successful was a Glasgow merchant. Kirkman Finlay was a member of a family which, like the Buchanans, a century earlier, came from the neighbourhood of Killearn.¹ His father, James Finlay, was the fourth son of John Finlay of The Moss, birthplace of the famous Latinist of Queen Mary's time, George Buchanan. Coming to Glasgow he founded the business of James Finlay & Co., in Bell's Wynd, now Bell Street, off Candle-riggs. In the procession, already described, which beat up for recruits for the American war in 1778, he is said to have been the "gentleman playing on the bagpipes," and in the list of subscriptions the name of James Finlay & Co. is down for fifty guineas.²

Kirkman was James Finlay's younger son, and carried on the family business. He got his somewhat curious Christian name from Alderman Kirkman, his father's London correspondent and friend. In 1793, three years after his father's death, he bought the cotton mills of Ballindalloch on the Endrick from his relatives, the Buchanans; in 1801 he bought the mills at Catrine in Ayrshire from David Dale and Alexander

¹ A very full account of the Finlays and all their family connections is given in J. O. Mitchell's *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 26.

² *Glasgow Mercury*, 29th Jan., 1778. Senex, *Old Glasgow*, p. 169.

of Ballochmyle ; and in 1808 he bought Deanston mills on the Teith from their Quaker owner, Benjamin Flounders.³ He was also, however, a merchant, and it was Napoleon's Berlin decree which gave him his great opportunity. Aware that a ready market awaited our manufactures if they could be smuggled into the Continent, he established depots in Heligoland and elsewhere at strategic points, and organized a great system of contraband in which, if the risks were great, the rewards were correspondingly high. In that bold game he must be held to have fairly beaten his powerful opponent, Napoleon himself. It is said that the Emperor's own troops were clad in overcoats made at Leeds, and marched in shoes made at Southampton.⁴ The result shewed the world that British commerce was beyond Napoleon's power to ruin, and the blow thus struck at the Emperor's prestige, with the service rendered to British industry, contributed not much less to the overthrow of the dictator than the defeat of his military forces by the Duke of Wellington.

Kirkman Finlay also played a notable part in the overthrow of another monopoly. For two hundred years, since it received its charter from Queen Elizabeth, the East India Company had enjoyed a monopoly of all the trade of this country to the east beyond the Cape of Good Hope. From time to time the charter fell to be renewed. This had been done in 1744 and in 1780, largely by dint of immense loans to the Government. When the charter again approached expiration in 1812 Kirkman Finlay induced the Town Council of Glasgow to enquire into the conditions.⁵ In the Indian and Pacific Oceans he saw vast possibilities for extending the commerce of Glasgow, and no sooner was the trade thrown open than he freighted the "Earl

³ *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 33.

⁴ Green, *Short History*, p. 823.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 8th and 24th Jan., 20th March, 19th May, 9th June, 1812. Later, in 1830, the Town Council again made appeal to Parliament against renewal of the exclusive privileges of the East India Company.—*Burgh Records*, 26th Feb., 1830.

of Buckinghamshire " and sent it out to Bombay. That vessel, of 600 tons, which was despatched in 1816, was the first to sail direct from the Clyde to an eastern port. In the following year Kirkman Finlay sent out the " George Canning " the first Glasgow ship for Calcutta ; and in 1834 he ventured still further, and despatched the " Kirkman Finlay," the first Glasgow ship for China.⁶ Thus, by his courage and enterprise, he opened up the great trade with the Far East which has brought an endless stream of prosperous commerce to the Clyde.

Under its shrewd and far-seeing chief the firm of James Finlay & Co. carried on a vast business. In the course of a legal case it was shewn that the profits of the firm in twenty years amounted to more than a million sterling. For his Glasgow house Kirkman Finlay bought the fine mansion of James Ritchie of Busby, the Virginia " tobacco lord," on the west side of Queen Street,⁷ and on the Firth of Clyde he set a fashion by forming and planting a noble estate and building the mansion of Castle Toward. Personally he was of the finest type of Glasgow merchant, liberal and kindly, a generous master and a fair opponent, whose word was as good as his bond.⁸ In addition to his own business he took an active part in public affairs. He was Governor of the Forth and Clyde Navigation, President of the Chamber of Commerce, Lord Provost, Lord Rector of the University and Dean of Faculties thereof. In 1812, when he was elected Member of Parliament, the enthusiasm of the citizens passed all bounds. They paid his expenses and struck a medal in his honour, drank his health with cheers and applause in front of the Town Hall at the cross, and, unyoking his horses, dragged him in his carriage to his own house in Queen Street. Alas, however, for the fickleness of fame ! three years later they paid him another visit.

⁶ Table of Dates in *Old Glasgow Essays*, pp. xlii and xliii.

⁷ Depicted in Stuart's *Views and Notices of Glasgow*.

⁸ *Old Glasgow Essays*, p. 34.

He had voted in parliament for Prosperity Robinson's Corn Bill, and, finding him from home, they attacked his house and smashed his windows, pelted with mud and stones the horse patrol which was turned out to disperse them, and were only brought to reason by the arrival of a detachment of the 71st Foot and by two troops of cavalry from Hamilton. That, however, is the way of the "profanum vulgus." When Kirkman Finlay died at Castle Toward he was buried with much honour in Blackfriars Aisle at the cathedral, and a statue of him, by Gibson, was set up in the vestibule of the Merchants House.⁹

It was in the year in which this very notable Glasgow merchant was elected Member of Parliament that Henry Bell placed his "Comet" on the waters of the Clyde. Hardly could a greater contrast be found than that between the humble projector of steam navigation in this country and Kirkman Finlay with his great schemes of commerce which played a part in destroying Napoleon and in opening the eastern world to Glasgow trade. Henry Bell was not, of course, the inventor of the steamboat. He was not even the first to put a practical and successful steamer on British waters. As early as the year 1543 Blasco de Gary is said to have launched a boat propelled by a jet of steam on the harbour at Barcelona. In 1707 Denis Papin, inventor of the atmospheric engine, placed a paddle-boat on the river Fulda at Cassel; and in 1736 Jonathan Hulls patented a form of paddle-steamer in England. After the improvement of the steam engine by James Watt, attempts, more or less successful, were made, in France by the Marquis de Jouffroy in 1783, and in America by James Rumsey in 1786 and by John Fitch in 1787. One of Fitch's boats attained a speed of seven miles an hour, and plied as a passenger steamer on the Delaware. In Scotland the first practical application of steam to the propulsion of vessels was made by Patrick Miller, the retired banker, on the little loch on his estate of Dalswinton,

⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 34, 35. *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, p. 207.

in Dumfriesshire, in 1788, in the presence of no less notable persons than Robert Burns, Nasmyth the painter, and the future Lord Brougham. The application of steam to the paddle-wheels, with which Miller had been experimenting, was made on the suggestion of James Taylor, his family tutor, and the engine was constructed by William Symington, a native of Leadhills. In the following year Miller had a more powerful vessel built at Carron Ironworks, which attained a speed of seven miles an hour on the Forth and Clyde Canal. Thirteen years later Symington was in the field again. Commissioned by Thomas, Lord Dundas, in 1802 he placed a stern-wheel steamer, the "Charlotte Dundas," on the canal. The vessel towed two laden barges of seventy tons each a distance of twenty miles against a strong head wind in seven hours, and must be considered "the first practically successful steamboat ever built." Her performance on the canal was only stopped because the wash of the paddles threatened to destroy the banks. Meanwhile the little ship had been inspected by two ingenious individuals, Robert Fulton and Henry Bell. The former, after experimenting with a steamboat on the Seine in 1803, launched on the Hudson in America in 1807 the steamer "Clermont," which was the progenitor of all the steamship enterprise of the New World.¹⁰

Henry Bell, who, five years later, played the same part in the steamship enterprise of this country, was a native of the little old-world village of Torphichen, near Linlithgow. He learned in succession the crafts of stone-mason, mill-wright, and shipbuilder, and was employed for a time in London by Rennie the celebrated civil engineer. In 1790 he set up in business in Glasgow as a wright or house carpenter. His brain, however, was full of ambitious projects in other fields, and in 1800 and 1803 he approached the Government with schemes of steamship construction. Lord Melville and James Watt both discouraged the idea, and, though Lord Nelson declared strongly in its

¹⁰ Symington, *Brief History of Steam Navigation*.

favour, nothing came of the application. Bell does not appear to have made much of his business as a wright in Glasgow, and in 1807 his wife undertook the superintendence of the public baths at Helensburgh, then recently founded by Sir James Colquhoun at the mouth of the Gareloch. Beside the baths she carried on an inn, the Baths Hotel, and it was in the interest of this undertaking, and of the little burgh, of which he was provost from 1807 till 1809, that Bell at last turned his speculative ideas to practical account. In 1811 he induced John Wood & Co. of Port-Glasgow to build a vessel for him. The engine was made by John Robertson & Co. and the boiler came from the foundry of David Napier in Glasgow. The "Comet," named from a celebrated comet which appeared in the heavens at that time, was launched with steam up on 18th January 1812, and proved its success by steaming at five miles an hour against a head wind. In August it was advertised to sail "by the power of air, wind, and steam," three times a week from Glasgow to Greenock and Helensburgh, and in September the voyage was extended to Oban and Fort William.¹

Bell himself made little of his enterprise. Some of his bills remained unpaid; but he was the pioneer of a great development for Glasgow and the Clyde.² In view of this, on his approaching old age a subscription was raised on his behalf, which realized a considerable sum, while the Clyde Trustees granted an annuity of £100, which was continued to his widow. After his death in 1830 an obelisk to his memory was built at Dunglass Castle on the riverside above Dunbarton, and in 1872 another was erected on the esplanade at Helensburgh. His dust rests in Rhu churchyard.

¹ A full account of Henry Bell's undertaking and the rapid development of river steamer enterprise which followed will be found in Captain James Williamson's volume, *The Clyde Passenger Steamer*.

² During the ten years which followed the launch of the "Comet" no fewer than forty-eight steam vessels were constructed in shipbuilding yards on the Clyde.—Mackinnon, *Social and Industrial History*, p. 95.

A man to whom Glasgow and the Clyde owe much more than they do to Henry Bell was David Napier, the maker of the boiler for the "Comet." Besides the workshop in Howard Street in which that boiler was made, Napier had a foundry at Camlachie, and he is said to have used the Camlachie Burn as an experimental tank for testing the comparative merits of the models of his ships. In this way he ascertained the best shape, the clipper bow, for ocean going steamers, and among his other inventions was the "steeple engine," which took the place of the old and awkward beam-engine on board ship. He placed steam carriages on the roads, and a fleet of river steamers on the Clyde; he placed the first steamers on Loch Lomond and Loch Eck, and he opened up the Loch Eck route to Inveraray. His cousin, Robert Napier of Shandon, who succeeded to his business when he went to London, enjoys most of the credit to-day; but David Napier was the actual pioneer of the modern shipbuilding industry of the Clyde.³

Presently iron was substituted for wood in the Clyde shipbuilding yards. The first boat made of iron in Scotland was the "Vulcan" which was built in 1817 at Faskine on the Monkland Canal by Thomas Wilson, and which, two years later, began service as a passenger vessel on the Forth and Clyde Canal. The first iron steamer was the "Fairy Queen," built by Neilson at the Oakbank Foundry, Glasgow, carted to the Clyde, and launched at the Broomielaw in 1831. Since then the development of Glasgow's overseas trade and of Clyde-built ships and engines which ply on every ocean of the world, has been almost beyond belief, and the city does well to remember what it owes to the initiative of Kirkman Finlay, David Napier, and Henry Bell.⁴

³ *David Napier, Engineer. The Clyde Passenger Steamer*, pp. 52, 70.

⁴ A highly interesting detailed account of the development of ship building on the Clyde is furnished by Professor Mackinnon in his *Social and Industrial History of Scotland*, p. 93.



THE "COMET."

From the "Comet" Centenary Supplement, 14th July, 1912.
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CHAPTER XLIX

AFTER WATERLOO: DR. CHALMERS: THE RADICAL RISING

IF facts were wanted to show that a nation's greatest developments are made during a time of war, they might be found in the experience of Glasgow at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The conflict with Napoleon, in which the country was then engaged, was a life and death struggle, as was the conflict in which Marlborough won his triumphs a hundred years earlier, and our conflict with the Central Powers of Europe a century later. In the carrying on of these wars the nation was forced to exert its utmost powers, and the effort seems to have quickened the national spirit in all directions.

Much has been said already in these pages to show the developments in Glasgow while the Napoleonic war went on. These developments were by no means entirely of a physical or material kind. The city had already for many years been notable for its clubs—not the stately abodes in stone and lime with which the name is associated to-day, but gatherings like those in which Ben Jonson and Dr. Samuel Johnson were the leading spirits in London in their times—for social intercourse of a quickening kind. By way of illustrating the history of Glasgow from the year 1750 downwards, Dr. John Strang has described the proceedings and personalities of some thirty of these bodies in his entertaining volume, *Glasgow and its Clubs*. The habits and proceedings of the Anderston Club, the Hodge Podge Club, the Coul Club, and their like, live again

in his pages. A body of more definite purpose, however, was the Glasgow Philosophical Society, whose objects are sufficiently indicated in its name. This learned society, still active in 1934, was founded in 1802, and has afforded a platform and furnished an audience for many valuable contributions to the thought of its time.

A distinct fillip to the intellectual life of the city, again, was afforded by the founding of the Hunterian Museum in 1804. Its donor, William Hunter, the famous anatomist, was a native of East Kilbride and a graduate of Glasgow University, who attained in London the positions of Physician in Ordinary to the Queen, and President of the Royal College of Physicians. The collection which he left to the University was valued at £130,000, and contained a library of 12,000 volumes, one of the finest collections of coins and medals in the world, and a number of pictures by such masters as Rembrandt, Rubens, and Salvator Rosa. The building to contain the collection was erected at the rear of the College in High Street in 1808, and was regarded as the best example of classic architecture then in Britain.

The same year saw the founding of the Glasgow Society for Promoting Astronomical Knowledge, and the building on Garnethill of a complete observatory. Among its appliances the institution had a revolving cupola, a sidereal clock, and two Herschelians telescopes, one ten feet long on the terrace and another fourteen feet long on the roof. It was the finest observatory in Britain, after that at Greenwich.¹ The institution, however, was not sufficiently provided with funds, and the citizens of Glasgow soon tired of their new toy. In 1812

¹ An earlier Observatory was that set up by the University on the College Green in 1757, with, among others, the instruments bequeathed by Alexander Macfarlane of Jamaica. For that bequest the donor's brother, the Laird of Arrochar, himself a noted antiquary, was made an LL.D. The first Professor of Astronomy was Alexander Wilson, the typefounder, friend of the brothers Foulis.—Coutts, *Hist. Univ. Glasgow*, p. 229.

it was offered to the University, whose own observatory on the College Green was sadly handicapped by the smoke in its neighbourhood ; but the University was without money for the purchase. Presently the Astronomical Discourses of Dr. Chalmers at the Tron Church revived interest in the subject, but when St. John's Church was built for him on the south side of the College grounds it seriously obstructed the view from the College Observatory. In 1819 and in 1821 the Garnethill Observatory was again offered to the University, and again was refused, whereupon the enterprise seems to have come to an end.²

Ingenuity and enterprise were especially quickened in developing the means of communication. The device of John Loudon M'Adam for making roads of broken stone—"macadamizing," as it has since been termed—was hastening and improving road construction in all directions from Glasgow, and already even better facilities were being devised. In 1809 the Town Council agreed to subscribe thirty pounds towards the survey for an iron railway to run from the Monkland Canal to Berwick-on-Tweed.³ Shortly afterwards it sold ground to William M'Dowall of Garthland for the making of a railway from the coal works of Govan to the basin of the Ardrossan Canal ; and five years later it considered a proposal by the Monkland Canal Company to lay a railroad from that canal by Dobbie's Loan, Sauchiehall Road, and Nile Street to the Broomielaw. These railroads were iron tracks on which the wheels of heavy waggons could run more smoothly and easily than on the surface of the ordinary thoroughfare, and they prepared the way for the iron railroads on which steam locomotives were afterwards to run.⁴

In the midst of these very modern developments it is curious

² *Ibid.* p. 353.

³ A survey for this railway was made by Telford, the celebrated engineer, who estimated its cost at £2926 per mile, but the work was never begun.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 30th May, 19th June, 29th June, 1809 ; 4th Sept., 1912 ; 11th Feb., 1814 ; 7th April, 1818.

to find that six hours a day were still devoted to the study of Latin in the Grammar School. The time was only reduced to four hours in 1813. The curriculum was then, however, increased to five years, and, reviving the former office, a rector was appointed to carry the classes into the higher branches, including the elements of Greek.⁵

The older world, however, had not yet altogether passed away. Representing that older world, the Tolbooth Steeple still stood at the foot of High Street. With the intended removal of the Tolbooth itself, after its purchase by Dr. Cleland, the security of this interesting feature of the city was threatened, and the Town Council discussed the question of demolishing, repairing, or rebuilding it. Following a report by experts, the iconoclasts were defeated, the steeple was strengthened and repaired at a cost of £450, and the beautiful old building, so closely associated with Glasgow's history, was assured of existence for another hundred years.⁶

Though no longer carried out at the Tolbooth after that date—when the new Court-houses at the foot of Saltmarket were at that time opened—executions for trivial offences were still frequent. In 1787 three culprits were hanged, one for stealing a piece of cloth from a bleachfield, the other two for attacking and robbing a surgeon at the west end of Argyll Street. The place of execution was the old Castle yard, and so dense was the crowd that it took an hour to march the condemned men from the Tolbooth to the spot.⁷ For duty on these occasions the Town Council kept a hangman of its own. While the office was vacant in 1813 the city paid £40 4s. 4d. sterling for the services of the Edinburgh executioner to despatch

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 6th April, 30th April, 1813; 6th Dec., 1814; 4th April, 1815.

⁶ *Ibid.* 22nd April, 5th May, 28th June, 1814. Curiously enough, the same arguments were used when the demolition of the steeple was twice proposed in the early years of the twentieth century.

⁷ *Glasgow Mercury*, 30th May, 1787.

two delinquents.⁸ There is an old-world atmosphere about the fact that highway robberies were common round the city and neighbouring counties, and were the subject of special measures of repression as late as 1814, when Higgins and Harold, two practitioners of the Dick Turpin fraternity, were hanged for their exploits.⁹

From their names these two "stand and deliver" adventurers were obviously importations from the south. During these years the surge of war was constantly flowing and ebbing through the city, and no doubt casting up its flotsam and jetsam of undesirable kind.

For eleven long years the war went on, with its anxieties and preoccupations, and when at last, in June, 1815, the news arrived that Napoleon had been finally defeated by the Duke of Wellington on the field of Waterloo, the population let itself go in an orgy of rejoicing. There were public bonfires, the city was illuminated, and, at the request of the magistrates, the bands of the regiments in the garrison paraded the streets. At the same time the Town Council celebrated the great event in its own way, and sent an address of congratulation to the Prince Regent.

Before long, however, Glasgow was to discover that victory in a war is followed by evils only less deadly than defeat. Already, before the war was over, some change had appeared in the spirit of the people. The change became early evident in the attitude of the public towards the Church. In 1813 it had become apparent that additional parish churches were required to accommodate the rapidly increasing population. Previously

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 12th Nov., 7th Dec., 1813. As late as 1833 arrangements were made for the provision of an assistant to the city's hangman.—*Ibid.* 14th May, 1833. The last of the Glasgow hangmen was Thomas Young, who lived with his family in two apartments within the Justiciary Buildings, on a wage of one guinea a week, with coal and candle. After his retiral the city made use of the services of Calcraft, the London executioner.—Mackenzie, *Reminiscences*, p. 304.

⁹ *Ibid.* 18th Nov., 1814.

the city churches had been built out of the revenues of the "Common Good," or property belonging to the city, supplemented by the seat rents, the sale of burial-places, and the like. It was now becoming doubtful, however, whether this plan could be continued. A proposal therefore was made to raise the money required by levying a rate on the rents of houses. By the citizens of a previous generation the building of these churches would have been regarded as a sacred duty, but another spirit was now in the air. The Trades House led the revolt with a respectful but strongly worded protest, declaring its "repugnance and disapprobation"; a committee of the citizens followed with the intimation that it would resist the passing of the necessary Act by every constitutional means; and a memorial against the project was even presented by the Society of Friends. Faced with such formidable opposition, the Council withdrew the proposal.¹⁰

The city's ordinary revenue in 1813 was £13,161 5s. 8d., and its ordinary expenditure £12,736 9s. 2d., while there was a debt of £98,000, covered only in part by available assets of £62,533, along with certain other property yielding no revenue, but valued at £71,679. The revenue of the existing churches was £2250, while their expenditure was £2986, and there was a further loss of £50 on the stipends paid to the ministers of the High Church and the Barony.¹ In these circumstances the Town Council acted with liberality in raising the stipends of all the city ministers from £300 to £400,² but the building of additional city churches was delayed for several years.

It came about ultimately through the appearance upon the scene of a man who was to leave his mark upon the history, not only of Glasgow, but of Scotland. Thomas Chalmers was appointed minister of the Tron Church by the Town Council in November, 1814, seven months before the battle of Waterloo.³

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 26th Nov., 7th Dec., 1813.

² *Ibid.* 3rd Mar., 1814.

¹ *Ibid.* 24th Feb., 1814.

³ *Ibid.* 25th Nov.

As minister of Kilmany in Fife he had shown himself to be of strong character, with the courage of his opinions, and several quaint traditions are still recounted of him there. No sooner was he settled in Glasgow than his vigour and originality began to be seen. Burning with evangelical zeal, he proceeded to awaken a new religious fervour in the city. The series of "Astronomical Discourses," which he delivered on Thursdays in the Tron Church, drew streams of merchants from office and coffee-room to listen to "the brilliant glow of a blazing eloquence."⁴ When the "Discourses" were published twenty thousand copies were sold within a year, and the editions ran an almost equal race with Scott's *Tales of a Landlord*.⁵ Amid the aftermath of the war, Chalmers was horrified by the utter ignorance and neglect amid which the young people of his parish were growing up, and he noticed that not one-third of the citizens attended any church. In his sermon on the death of the Princess Charlotte, only child of George IV., in 1817, he made the bold demand for "twenty more churches and twenty more ministers for the city. The demand raised a clamour of protest, but already the magistrates had agreed to the erection of one new church, St. John's, off the Gallowgate.⁶ Chalmers himself was appointed its first minister,⁷ and forthwith proceeded with a series of enlightened schemes which revolutionized the public outlook, both of magistrates and citizens.

His plans met with strenuous opposition from the "General Session"—the ministers and elders of the other city churches. Hitherto the churches had pooled their collections for the help of the poor of the city. But the collection in St. John's amounted to £8 per week, while those in the other churches averaged only £2. Having ideas of his own as to the best

⁴ Foster, quoted in Hanna's *Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers*, ii. 87.

⁵ "These sermons," said Hazlitt, "ran like wild-fire through the country, were the darlings of watering-places, were laid in the windows of inns, and were to be met with in all places of public resort."—*Memoirs of Chalmers*, ii. 89.

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 15th Oct., 1816.

⁷ *Ibid.* 5th June, 1818.

methods of affording help, Chalmers asked that his congregation should be allowed to administer its own collections. With full confidence in the good work that the minister of St. John's was doing, the Town Council at once gave its consent, but the General Session was furious. It not only objected to Chalmers's request, but roundly told the Town Council it had no authority on the subject, and threatened that, if the request were granted, it would itself throw up the task of relieving the poor. In its letter to the Town Council the General Session took a high dictatorial and rather insolent attitude. It was a last attempt of the clergy of the city to imitate the Hebrew prophets of old, and dictate a policy to the civil authorities. The attempt failed. The magistrates answered firmly and with dignity; but they took the General Session at its word, and proceeded to remodel the system of parochial poor relief, and provide for the setting up of parochial schools on plans very similar to those of Dr. Chalmers, and independent of the General Session.⁸

Dr. Chalmers then proceeded to carry out his proposal to employ the surplus of his collections for the founding of parochial schools after the fashion of the schools in country districts. These schools were so well managed that wealthy city merchants sought admission to them for their children. For one of them, in Macfarlane Street, beside St. John's Church, Chalmers collected £500, which was handed to the Town Council to furnish a salary of £25 a year to the teacher.⁹ At the same time his methods of relief of the poor were thoroughly efficient. While the deserving were sympathetically cared for, the idle and the profligate were thrown upon their own resources, and compelled to work.¹⁰

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 18th Aug., 7th Sept., 28th Sept., 1819; 20th Feb., 1821; 17th Aug., 1826.

⁹ *Ibid.* 8th Nov., 1822.

¹⁰ The description of the discretionary methods insisted upon by Chalmers in dealing with applications for parochial relief, contained in Hanna's *Memoirs* (vol. ii, chap. xiii.) affords a very perfect model for all such work.



THE CLYDE BELOW GOVAN, SHOWING GOVAN CHURCH AND MR. MORRIS POLLOCK'S SILK MILL.

From lithograph by David Allan, 1835.



It is interesting to remember that for three years, from 1819 till 1822, Chalmers had as assistant the not less famous Edward Irving, afterwards founder of the Catholic Apostolic Church. When Irving returned to Glasgow to die in 1834 he must have had many stirring and pathetic memories of those strenuous early years.

The eight years of Dr. Chalmers's work in Glasgow—ended by his appointment as Professor of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews in 1823—were among the most troubled and disastrous the city and the country had seen. In 1813, two years before the end of the war with Napoleon, the trouble began with a general strike of 40,000 weavers throughout Scotland. With wages at 8s. 6d. per week, and the peck of meal at 3s., their case was hard enough, but the strike did not make the times better, and with the arrest of the leaders it collapsed after a couple of months.¹ But already there was serious distress in the country. A succession of bad harvests threatened the farmers with ruin. To help them, in 1815 an Act of Parliament, the much disputed "Corn Law," was passed, prohibiting the importation of grain so long as the average price was below eighty shillings per quarter. This Act materially raised the price of food for the people. With the end of the war the countries which, in spite of Napoleon's decrees, had been large purchasers of our merchandise, began to manufacture for themselves, and placed tariffs against our trade. At the same time, among our people, starving and unemployed, the ideas of the French Revolution were at work, to propagate discontent and instigate rebellion. So serious was the distress that in some parts of England the poor rates swallowed the whole income of those who had any income with which to pay, and large tracts of the country went out of cultivation. Lord Brougham declared that "the national misery had reached a height wholly without precedent in our history since the Norman Conquest."

¹ Mackinnon, *Social and Industrial History*, p. 100.

The full blast of disaster descended on Glasgow in 1816. In the first three months of that year the bankruptcies in the city involved sums amounting to two millions sterling.² In June the distress among the labouring class had become so serious that the Lord Provost called for special provision for its relief,³ and in the following winter subscriptions amounting to £9653 were distributed among 23,130 people in want. Soon, however, the political agitator was at work. In October some 40,000 persons assembled at Thrushgrove, near the city, and passed resolutions demanding redress of grievances; and so fearful were the magistrates of a riotous outbreak that they had the 42nd Highlanders at the barracks in Gallowgate and the dragoons in the cavalry quarters under arms in readiness for action.⁴ That gathering marked the opening of the "Radical" movement in the West of Scotland. In December some actual rioting did occur, but was suppressed by the prompt action of the magistrates, the sheriff-depute, and the justices of the peace.⁵

The spirit of lawlessness, however, was rising. Large numbers of illicit distilleries were at work throughout the west and north of Scotland. In a single parish, Kilmaronock, on the south-east side of Loch Lomond, the smoke of a dozen "sma' stills" was sometimes to be seen rising into the air at once.⁶ The bands of smugglers became so numerous and daring as to defy the revenue officers and the police, and the Town Council appealed to the Government to suppress a trade which not only

² *Curiosities of Citizenship*, p. 127. On a single dark morning in the month of February stoppages to the extent of something like a million and a half sterling were declared.—Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 441.

³ *Burgh Records*, 27th June, 1816.

⁴ Macgregor's *History of Glasgow*, p. 400.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 27th Dec., 1816; 16th June, 1818.

⁶ This fact was stated to the writer by the late R. D. Mackenzie of Caldarvan, from his personal observation as a boy. The smuggling enterprise of the district was only suppressed when the Government placed a revenue cutter on Loch Lomond.

meant a loss to the revenue, but depraved the habits of the people, excited a spirit of insubordination, and destroyed respect for the law.⁷

Still more ominous, an attempt on the life of the Prince Regent, as he returned from opening Parliament early in 1817, drew another address from the Town Council.⁸ At the same time, in Glasgow itself, serious conspiracies were said to be afoot. The unemployed cotton spinners were known to be plotting lawless outbreaks,⁹ and a secret enquiry by the Government discovered the existence of a treasonable oath by which certain persons had bound themselves to secure universal suffrage and annual parliaments, either by peaceful means or by force. The Rev. Neil Douglas, also, a dissenting minister in the city, did what he could to inflame the crowds which went to hear him, by fierce invective against the King, the Prince Regent, and the House of Commons. Prosecutions against the delinquents in the High Court at Edinburgh broke down, but Earl Grey stated in the House of Lords that Glasgow was "one of the places where treasonable practices were said, in the report of the secret committee of both Houses, to prevail to the greatest degree."¹⁰

The city's troubles were not made less by a great invasion of Irish beggars who took up quarters in the narrow wynds and closes of the older parts of the town, and kept alive an epidemic of contagious fever, which developed into a plague of typhus in the winter of 1819.¹

Meanwhile acts of lawlessness became more and more common. A riot on the King's birthday, 4th June, 1819, did a considerable amount of damage.² So serious were the

⁷ *Burgh Records*, 29th Feb., 1816.

⁸ *Ibid.* 3rd Feb., 1817.

⁹ Mackinnon, *Social and Industrial History*, p. 162.

¹⁰ Mackenzie, *Reminiscences*, vol. i. pp. 113, 123.

¹ *Burgh Records*, 21st April, 19th June, 1818; 14th Feb., 1820.

² *Ibid.* 23rd June, 10th Aug., 1819.

demonstrations of lawlessness that a very notable personage was prevented from paying the city a visit. Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who had been husband of the much lamented Princess Charlotte, and who afterwards became King of the Belgians, was visiting the Duke of Montrose at Buchanan House, and the Town Council proposed to confer the freedom of the city upon him, and entertain him at a banquet. The Lord Provost, Henry Monteith, accordingly posted out, over the Stockiemuir, to convey the invitation to His Royal Highness. The Prince received him most graciously, and expressed in strong terms his wish to have visited Glasgow, but declined doing so lest his presence might be made the occasion of mischief which he should never cease to regret.³

To relieve the distress hundreds of the workless were given employment, as already mentioned, in improvements on Glasgow Green; the Government was approached and agreed to make a grant of £30,000 towards the cost of forming dry and wet docks at the Broomielaw, and, to stave off actual starvation, soup kitchens were opened for the winter.⁴

The spirit of rebellion, nevertheless, was becoming more evident. As in all such times of distress, there appeared hot-heads who seized the opportunity to urge the proletariat to extreme acts.⁵ Among the friends of the extremists it was afterwards urged that the troubles were stirred up by Government agents, who first fomented rebellion, and then profited by betraying the rebels. Even the precautions taken by the authorities to maintain order were blamed as acts of repression which stimulated outrage. But there were shootings at certain millowners and workmen, and throwings of vitriol, which cannot be excused by any such sophistry,⁶ and the open taking

³ *Burgh Records*, 13th and 28th Sept., 1819.

⁴ *Ibid.* 14th Feb., 2nd May, 1820; 10th Aug., 27th Oct., 27th Dec., 19th Nov., 1819.

⁵ *Ibid.* 19th Nov., 1819.

⁶ Mackinnon, *Social and Industrial History*, p. 162.

of arms is an act for which the doer of it must at all times himself bear the entire responsibility.

Throughout the autumn of 1819 the Town Council had found it necessary, for the preservation of peace, to have cavalry stationed in the city.⁷ A corps of special constables also was requisitioned. Night after night the streets were crowded with an idle populace, ready for riot, and again and again cavalry was required to clear the thoroughfares.⁸ Glasgow was believed by the Government to be the headquarters of the revolutionists in Scotland, and it was in Glasgow that the actual outbreak took place.

On Sunday morning, 1st April, 1820, the citizens, as they went to church, found posted on the walls a direct incitement to rebellion. "Friends and Countrymen," it ran, "Roused from that state in which we have been sunk for so many years, we are at length compelled . . . to assert our rights at the hazard of our lives." It then went on, in glowing terms, to urge the people to take arms to regenerate their country. The document was signed "By Order of the Committee of Organization for forming a Provisional Government." Rumours were spread that England was already in arms for the cause of reform, that fifty thousand troops were on their way from France to help the movement, that five thousand French soldiers were to encamp on Cathkin Braes, and that Glasgow and its wealth were to be seized in name of the Provisional Government. Already, it was said, an army from England had reached Falkirk, and was about to seize Carron Iron Works, the great cannon foundry of the kingdom.

So seriously was the proclamation regarded that the Rifle Brigade, the 80th and 83rd Regiments of Foot, the 7th and 10th Hussars, several regiments of Yeomanry, and the Glasgow Sharpshooters, a body commanded by Samuel Hunter, editor

⁷ *Burgh Records*, 27th Oct., 1819; 28th Jan., 1820.

⁸ *Glasgow and its Clubs*, p. 498.

of the *Glasgow Herald*, were all ordered to be under arms in Glasgow and its neighbourhood. All shops were ordered to be shut at six o'clock, and the streets to be cleared by seven. On 8th April a Royal Proclamation at the cross offered £500 for the detection of the authors and printers of the treasonous document.⁹

Not a great many obeyed the call of the revolutionaries. On hearing the news, James Wilson, a weaver at Strathaven, otherwise known as "Perley Wilson" from the fact, it is said, that he invented the pearl stitch in knitting, set out from his house with some twenty followers. As the country seemed quiet, however, and there were no signs of a general rising, they presently changed their minds, and returned home. There, on that same day, Wilson was arrested and taken, first to Hamilton barracks, and afterwards to Glasgow jail. Next, late on the Tuesday night there was a gathering in the Fir Park, now the Necropolis, when pikes, swords, muskets, and ammunition were handed out, and about seventy men, headed by a weaver, Andrew Hardie, ancestor of Keir Hardie, a similar spirit of a later day, started to join their English friends at Falkirk. At the village of Condorrat, where they halted for a space, they were joined by John Baird and another small party of weavers. On approaching Falkirk they were surprised to find no signs of the English, and, thoroughly disheartened, most of them abandoned the company and went home. The remainder, some thirty strong, were resting among some enclosures at Bonnymuir, when a troop of the 7th Hussars came up with them. They refused to surrender, and made some attempt at defence, but on the cavalry attacking they were all made prisoners, most of them being wounded. On 6th July eighteen of them were brought up for trial at Edinburgh on a charge of high treason, and notwithstanding the eloquence of Francis Jeffrey, who was retained for their defence, all were

⁹ Macgregor, *History*, p. 408.

convicted. Hardie and Baird, as ringleaders, were executed at Stirling on 8th September, and the others were transported. James Wilson was tried at Glasgow on 20th July, and hanged and beheaded on 30th August, in the presence of 20,000 spectators in front of the jail at Glasgow Green.¹⁰ Late that night his daughter carried his body home to Strathaven, and buried it in the cemetery there, and every spring the site of the cottage from which he set out on his ill-fated adventure is bright with a thick carpet of crocuses.

Thus ended the notorious "Radical Rising" of 1820. The object of its leaders was legitimate enough—to redress their grievances by securing a voice in the government of the country, but their method of attaining that object—by force of arms—made them justly liable to the penalties they suffered.

¹⁰ Macgregor, *History of Glasgow*, pp. 407-411.

CHAPTER L

THE CONVENTION OF BURGHS ; THE RESURRECTIONISTS ; GEORGE IV IN SCOTLAND

AMID these "excursions and alarms" democracy may be said to have made its first bid for power in modern times in this country. It is notable enough, and significant of the spirit and hereditary character of the people, that movements such as this and the war of the Covenant against the arbitrary actions of Charles I, should both have had their opening act played in Glasgow. It may be claimed to have been the same racial quality which urged William Wallace of Elderslie, near Glasgow, to strike the first blow for freedom against the usurped authority of Edward I of England.

Meanwhile it is curious to remark that, at the actual time of the Radical Rising, the Town Council had reason to complain of certain acts of the Convention of Burghs which illustrate one of the weaknesses and dangers of democracy. In the Convention the representatives of all the royal burghs had equal votes, though these burghs did not all contribute equally to the funds at its disposal. A tendency had arisen for the representatives of the smaller burghs, which had the majority of votes, to combine in voting considerable sums to each other for purposes not always strictly legitimate. Glasgow had always been generous in affording help when disaster overtook any other community, or some smaller burgh was faced with such extraordinary expenditure as the building of a bridge or a

harbour. But it was quite another matter when the smaller burghs combined to impose assessments and then vote the money for the relief of their own debts and the carrying out of ambitious local schemes, in defiance of the larger burghs, which were called upon to furnish nearly all the funds. So serious became the grievance that in 1822 the Town Council appealed to Parliament, suggesting that the money grants of the Convention should be decided, not by majority of votes alone, but by majority and value of votes. The appeal was without result. In 1823, out of the common fund, Dumfries secured £400 for improvement of the navigation of the Nith, and two years later Crail was granted £500 "upon public grounds." With difficulty several later applications for grants of money by the minor burghs were successfully resisted, but these attempts at plunder brought the Convention itself into such disrepute that after the passing of the Reform Act, it was proposed to bring in a bill for its complete abolition.¹

Strangely enough, at the same time, progress in another arena had also its obverse to show, and Glasgow had something more than its own share of a terror which affected not so much the living as the dead. The medical schools at the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow were then developing rapidly, and one of their difficulties was the scarcity of subjects for dissection in the anatomy classes. The bodies of criminals who were hanged were handed over for the purpose till one terrible occasion when, in the course of an experiment in galvanism in Glasgow the murderer came to life again. To the horror of those present, the man opened his eyes, breathed, and began to rise from his chair, whereupon the professor, Dr. James Jeffrey, sprang forward and plunged a lancet into his jugular artery. After this occurrence the judges ceased to order

¹ *Burgh Records*, 27th June, 23rd Sept., 1816; 9th Dec., 1818; 9th May, 1822; 25th July, 1823; 12th Aug., 1825; 19th July, 1832; 19th July, 1833.

the bodies of executed criminals to be handed over for dissection.

To secure subjects a practice then grew up of plundering graveyards of their newly buried dead. Spring-guns and other devices were employed by the public to prevent desecration, and one student was actually shot in the Blackfriars churchyard ; but the practice went on. When it was known that even the Cathedral graveyard had been plundered, public indignation reached its height, and a mob smashed Dr. Jeffrey's windows in the College. Following the disappearance of the body of a Mrs. M'Allister from the Ramshorn burying-ground, a warrant was issued, and a police raid was made on the dissecting rooms of Dr. Pattison in College Street. There, at the bottom of a tub full of water, were found some remains, including a jawbone with teeth, recognised by her dentist as those of the missing woman. In consequence, Dr. Pattison, his assistant, and two of his students were tried before the High Court in Edinburgh on 6th June, 1814. The accused were acquitted because of a technical flaw in the evidence—parts of the body identified as that of Mrs. M'Allister, who was a mother of children, were proved to be those of an unmarried woman. But public resentment was so strong that Dr. Pattison found it necessary to emigrate to America, and the activities of the resurrectionists ceased for a time. On a revival of these activities in 1823 associations of watchers were formed in the different parts of the city,² and till quite recently in certain of the city burying-grounds were to be seen the heavy railed iron enclosures erected by the wealthier classes over their family graves, and the watch-towers from which relatives kept guard till the danger of desecration was past. It was not till after the trial in Edinburgh in 1829 of the notorious Burke and Hare, who had murdered no fewer than fifteen persons, and sold their bodies to the College professors for dissection,

² *Burgh Records*, 20th May, 25th July, 1823 ; 23rd Feb., 1825.

that arrangements were made by law for an adequate supply of subjects for anatomical purposes.³

Another need of the University just then provided the city with an amenity which may be allowed to have offset the terror of the body-snatching. Hitherto, as part of its pleasure-grounds, the college had possessed a botanic garden on the ground which sloped down, behind its quadrangles, to the Molendinar. But the building of the Hunterian Museum there, and the increasing smoke of the city, had destroyed the suitability of the spot. These drawbacks led to the formation of another pleasure-ground for the citizens. In 1816 a society was formed, for which nearly £6000 were subscribed in ten-guinea shares, to establish a Botanic Garden in a more favourable location. The University subscribed £2000 on the understanding that a lecture room and the plants in the garden should be available for the use of the Botany class, and the Government also made a grant of £2000 out of the teinds of the burgh and the Barony parish.⁴ The society was incorporated as the Glasgow Royal Botanic Institution by the Prince Regent; it bought some six acres of land on the Sauchiehall Road, a mile to the west of the city, and proceeded with much enthusiasm to lay out the ground for the twin purposes of science and pleasure.⁵

An amenity of greater importance was the lighting of the city by coal gas. As early as 1792 William Murdoch, the Ayrshire engineer and inventor, who was afterwards manager of Boulton and Watt's engineering works at Soho, lighted the

³ The Anatomy Act, 1832, 2 and 3 Will. IV. c. 75. The story of the Glasgow resurrectionists is given with much detail by Peter Mackenzie in his *Reminiscences of Glasgow*, vol. ii. pp. 462-500.

⁴ *Burgh Records*, 5th March, 1824.

⁵ Later in the century Fitzroy Place was built on the spot, and the Gardens were removed to Great Western Road. They remained a private possession till 1887, when they were taken over by the Corporation, and they were opened as a public park in 1891.

offices and miners' cottages at Redruth in Cornwall with gas distilled from coal. In 1813 Westminster Bridge was lit with the new illuminant, and the device began to spread throughout the country. Glasgow was still lit by dim oil lamps in 1816,⁶ when a committee approached the Town Council with the suggestion that it should either itself embark on the enterprise of lighting Glasgow with gas, or give its countenance to a private company to be formed for the purpose. The Town Council cautiously chose the latter alternative, but agreed to take shares to the amount of £500 in the Gas Light Company,⁷ which was then formed, with a capital of £40,000. The Company's light was first turned on at the grocery store of James Hamilton, at 128 Trongate, on 5th September, 1818, and on the 18th, when a great audience crowded the Theatre Royal in Queen Street, to see Mozart's "Giovanni," the grand crystal lustre hanging from the roof was, for the first time, "illuminated with sparkling gas."⁸

Notwithstanding the progress and growth of the city thus indicated, it is curious to note that, so late as 1817, when a public market was formed upon its site, there was still a bowling-green on the east side of Candleriggs,⁹ and that not till the same year could imported goods be placed in bond in Glasgow, Greenock and the parent city having been regarded, for customs purposes, merely as "creeks" of Port-Glasgow till 1812.¹⁰ Not less curious is the fact that as late as 1818 the Town Council actually consented to the proposal of Campbell of Blythswood to have his lands of Blythswood, which were

⁶ Mackenzie, *Reminiscences*, ii. 141.

⁷ *Burgh Records*, 15th Oct., 19th Nov., 27th Dec., 1816.

⁸ Mackenzie, *Reminiscences*, ii. 141. A very full account of this great occasion is furnished by the gossipy historian.

⁹ *Burgh Records*, 28th Feb., 1817.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 16th Dec., 1817; 18th May, 1818. "Reminiscences of Glasgow Custom House." in *Glasg. Archæol. Soc. Transactions*, 1st Series, vol. i. pp. 55, 57-8.

separated from the royalty of Glasgow only by St. Enoch's Burn, erected into a separate burgh of barony.¹ In dealing with this proposal, however, the Town Council was sufficiently alive to the possibilities of the city's development to stipulate that its consent should form no bar to future extension of Glasgow's boundary to the westward.

The Council was also sufficiently conscious of the development of democratic ideas to agree to join the Merchants House and the Trades House in considering whether a change in the method of electing its members might be "conducive to the public welfare." This was a concession to the stalwarts of the Trades' House, which had made an attack on the time-honoured plan of the Town Council itself electing its successors.²

The city fathers also showed themselves so modern and free from prejudice as to concede a substantial request of the four Seceding congregations in the city. The form of the oath to be taken by burgesses at their enrolment had brought about the notorious split between the "Burgher" and the "Anti-Burgher" religious bodies. This oath, as a matter of fact, had for a long time ceased to be applied in Glasgow, and the Town Council found no difficulty in agreeing to abolish it altogether.³

Shortly afterwards the Council conferred a favour on another of the dissenting "bodies" of the city, by agreeing to purchase the Methodist chapel and schoolrooms in Great Hamilton Street. The building was transformed into yet another city church—the ninth—and received the name of St. James's. The new church was expected to relieve the Tron and St. John's of part of the immense load of pauperism attached to them, and also to afford a fair trial to Dr. Chalmers's plan of management, and thus reduce the city's assessment for the poor.⁴

By that time the reign of George III.—one of the longest in British history—was drawing to a close. On 29th January,

¹ *Ibid.* 25th June, 1818.

² *Ibid.* 9th July, 1818; 27th May, 1819.

³ *Ibid.* 25th March, 1819.

⁴ *Ibid.* 28th Jan., 14th Feb., 27th July, 1820.

1820, the old King died. The Town Council duly sent an address of congratulation to his successor, George IV.,⁵ but one of the first acts of the new King raised an undesired commotion in the city. The bill of pains and penalties which he caused to be introduced into the House of Lords to procure a divorce from Queen Caroline excited throughout the country a large amount of sympathy for the Queen. A granddaughter of George II. and a cousin of the King, she had been forced as a bride by George III. upon his son, and she had been deserted by her husband a year after her marriage, persecuted by his mistresses, and subjected to repeated indignities. Glasgow was just then distracted by the Radical Rising and the trials and executions which followed, but an address was drawn up by a committee of citizens, and sent, with 35,000 signatures, notwithstanding the opposition of the magistrates, to the unhappy Queen. The majority for the third reading of the bill in the House of Lords on 10th November was so small that the Premier, the Earl of Liverpool, withdrew the measure, and when the news reached Glasgow the event was celebrated with illuminations and the lighting of bonfires. Fearful of trouble, after their recent experience, the magistrates caused the Riot Act to be read, and called out the dragoons and artillery. No disturbance took place, but on the soldiers proceeding to disperse a crowd at the foot of Saltmarket, large numbers crowded upon the wooden bridge at the spot, and under their weight it broke down, and threw them into the river. Fortunately the tide was out and no lives were lost.⁶

In the following year the King's coronation was celebrated in Glasgow with an entertainment in the town hall and fireworks on the Green⁷; but in London the poor Queen was forcibly excluded from the coronation ceremony itself in Westminster Abbey, and soon afterwards died broken-hearted.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 11th Feb., 1820.

⁶ Macgregor, *History*, p. 410.

⁷ *Burgh Records*, 24th July, 1821.

A year later still saw George IV.'s visit to Scotland. Largely on the invitation of Sir Walter Scott, he was splendidly feted in Edinburgh, which had received no visit from a crowned monarch since Charles I. came and went uncomfortably, nearly two centuries before. Before the event Glasgow Town Council enquired whether the King intended to honour their city with a visit, but received an answer from the Home Secretary, Mr. Peel, that on account of the limited time at his disposal His Majesty would be unable to visit the West of Scotland. No doubt the recent Radical Rising, and the rejoicings in the city over the failure of his action against Queen Caroline, had not a little to do with this decision, as with the previous refusal of Prince Leopold.

The questionable reputation of Glasgow as a law-abiding place was under a cloud just then for other reasons also. In the preceding February, on the rumour that a colour merchant named Provand was implicated with the resurrectionists, a furious mob broke into his house in Clyde Street and destroyed its contents. So serious was the outbreak that the Riot Act had to be read and the military called out. In consequence five persons were transported, and one was whipped through the city.⁸

Again on Saturday, 21st July, less than a month before the King's visit to Scotland, occurred the great outbreak in which a mob threw down the wall at Westthorn, by which Thomas Harvey, a distiller, sought to close the footpath by the riverside. On this occasion an actual conflict occurred with the Inniskilling Dragoons, and several persons were thrown into the Clyde.⁹

No whit daunted, however, by the King's refusal to come to Glasgow, the Town Council voted £1000 for the expenses

⁸ The culprit on that occasion was the last on whom the punishment of public whipping was inflicted in Glasgow.

⁹ The question of right of way was decided against Harvey by the Court of Session in the following year.

of a deputation to Edinburgh, where the Lord Provost duly presented a somewhat effusive address. The deputation stayed in the capital for upwards of a week, "in suitable style and with state equipage." It had the honour of kissing hands at a levee at the Palace of Holyrood House on 17th August, and a month later the Town Council subscribed one hundred guineas for an equestrian statue to commemorate His Majesty's "auspicious visit to Scotland."¹⁰

While the civic chiefs were thus sunning themselves in the smiles of royalty at Edinburgh, it is only fair to say that they were by no means neglecting the town's interests at home. They were widening and strengthening the Old Bridge of Glasgow at the foot of the Briggate, on plans drawn up by the engineer Telford, at a cost of £5590¹; they were carrying on active operations to ascertain the value of the coal seams under Glasgow Green²; and they were anxiously considering the possibilities of applying a recent Act of Parliament for the consumption of the factory smoke which already was darkening the city's atmosphere and blackening its walls.³

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 2nd Aug., 6th Sept., 26th Sept., 1822.

¹ *Ibid.* 8th March, 1822.

² *Ibid.* 15th, 26th Nov., 1821; 31st May, 23rd July, 19th Nov., 1822; 3rd June, 1824. There were found to be six seams of coal, of a thickness altogether of 24 feet 9 inches.

³ *Ibid.* 8th Nov., 1822.



GLASGOW FAIR ABOUT 1832.
By John Knox.

CHAPTER LI

THE LAST YEARS OF THE OLD REGIME

THE ten years which followed the visit of George IV. to Scotland were the last of the old regime in the country and in Glasgow. With the passing of the Parliamentary Reform Bill in 1832, and of the Burgh Reform Bill in 1833, the system of government by aristocracy came to an end, and the great experiment of government by democracy was begun. It will be the business of the historian of the future to compare the efficiency of the two systems, and to ascertain how far the glowing hopes have been realized of the enthusiasts for the new order who, like the poet Tennyson, foresaw a noble future of "freedom broadening slowly down from precedent to precedent."

Meantime, so far as Glasgow was concerned, those last ten years, in which the affairs of the city were managed by a "close corporation," a Town Council which elected its own successors without any popular voting, were years of wise and steady administration. In those years the Town Council rebuilt two of the city churches, St. Enoch's and the Ramshorn, re-named from that time St. David's, at the request of the minister, the Rev. Dr. Ranken; as a heritor in Gorbals it contributed to the rebuilding of the parish church of Govan, and it undertook an extensive repair of the Cathedral, towards which the Government was induced to make a grant of £3000.¹ It also erected a new stone bridge at the foot of Saltmarket,

¹ *Burgh Records*, 15th Feb., 28th Dec., 1827; 13th Jan., 1824; 8th Sept., 1825; 28th Feb., 1827; 5th Mar., 1824.

and arranged for the rebuilding of the bridge at the foot of Jamaica Street, this last at a cost of £27,979 5s. 8d.² It took an active part in encouraging the development of railways, which was presently to become one of the most outstanding features of the time. Though it refused to support the project of a railway from the Monkland coalfields to Kirkintilloch, which lay in reality outside its sphere of interest,³ it petitioned Parliament in favour of the Glasgow and Garnkirk line, the earliest part of the great Caledonian Railway system,⁴ and in favour of a railway and tunnel for conveying coal from the north-east of the city to the Broomielaw⁵; it opposed the scheme of the Glasgow and Paisley Railway to cross the river and invade the city streets,⁶ a scheme which was nevertheless carried out fifty years later; and it took action in Parliament against the Pollok and Govan Railway Bill, which threatened to damage the property of the city and of Hutcheson's Hospital on the south side of the river.⁷ In this last case the Town Council shrewdly foresaw that it would one day wish to use, for an extension of the harbour, the Windmillcroft, opposite the Broomielaw, which the railway projectors proposed to convert into a coal terminus. At a later day the Kingston Dock, Glasgow's earliest harbour basin, was constructed on the spot. At the same time the city fathers were quick to realize the advantages of a proposed railway between Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Leith, and petitioned both the House of Commons and the House of Lords in favour of the undertaking.⁸

Among internal developments, the fashionable terrace, Monteith Row, facing Glasgow Green and looking over the

² *Burgh Records*, 4th Feb., 1825; 5th March, 1833; vol. xi. p. 686.

³ *Ibid.* 5th Mar., 23rd Mar., 1824. This was the first successful locomotive railway line in Scotland—(Mackinnon, *Social and Industrial Hist.*, p. 132)—and the first instalment of the great North British system.

⁴ *Ibid.* 4th May, 1827.

⁵ *Ibid.* 14th Jan., 13th Feb., 1830; 2nd Feb., 1831.

⁶ *Ibid.* 2nd Feb., 1831.

⁷ *Ibid.* 22nd Sept., 1831; 18th Jan., 1832.

⁸ *Ibid.* 16th Mar., 1832.

Clyde to the Cathkin Braes, had been named in compliment to the Lord Provost, the great mill-owner, Henry Monteith, and its area was steadily feued and built upon by substantial citizens.⁹

To afford a worthy approach to Monteith Row and the Green from Glasgow Cross, the Town Council encouraged the formidable enterprise of creating London Street. For this purpose a joint-stock company was formed by Kirkman Finlay, Henry Monteith, and other outstanding citizens. In that company the Council took shares to the amount of £1,000, at the same time granting it the imprimatur of a "seal of cause."¹⁰ The street itself almost changed the direction of Glasgow's development, eastward instead of westward.

At the same time, by way of adding further to the amenities of the region, the Town Council undertook the making of a carriage drive round the Green. It was a time of serious unemployment among the weavers, and the work served the urgent purpose of relieving distress. It was carried out partly by public subscription, and, by way of inducement, certain privileges were accorded to subscribers. A subscription of £20 secured a free ticket for life for the holder's carriages and horses, while a subscription of £10 procured a permit for two-wheeled carriages, riding horses, and the admission of friends living more than ten miles from the city. Upon all other persons on horseback or on wheels a substantial toll was levied. For this work, for which £2050 was raised, an Act of Parliament was obtained in 1827, and the ride and carriage drives were opened in 1828.¹ Under these arrangements the Green became a fashionable resort, with very much the character of Hyde Park and Rotten Row in London at the present day. It was

⁹ *Ibid.* 8th July, 1819; 21st Aug., 1823; 6th Aug., 1824.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 20th May, 19th June, 25th July, 21st Aug., 17th Sept., 1823; 20th Jan., 1824. The undertaking was financed by "The Glasgow Lotteries." *Glasgow Herald*, 6th Dec., 1902.

¹ *Ibid.* 15th May, 23rd May, 1826; 3rd Mar., 1827.

so described in John Maynes' spirited poem, "Glasgow," already quoted.

A still greater undertaking, in the way of street construction, was the forming of Parliamentary Road. The purpose of the new thoroughfare was to connect the Kirkintilloch Road with the Garscube Road, the cost was some £13,000, and it is difficult to understand why the Town Council were eager to push forward the undertaking, seeing it enabled traffic to pass from east to west without entering the city. Like other enterprises of the time, however, the work afforded subsistence to the unemployed, and, from their experience with other streets, the Town Council no doubt foresaw the likelihood of making a handsome profit from the feuing of the building sites along the line of the thoroughfare. Such feuing, in fact, formed a considerable part of the revenue of the city at that time. In the Act of Parliament authorising the enterprise the magistrates and council were appointed trustees for the making of the road, and they proceeded vigorously with the undertaking.² Parliamentary Road runs along the upper course of the St. Enoch's Burn.

Less formidable as an undertaking, but not less interesting by reason of the memories of the spot, was the improvement of High Street by still further reducing the height of the "Bell o' the Brae." To this undertaking the Town Council agreed to contribute the sum of £500.³ Before its successive reductions the scene of Wallace's traditional conflict with the English garrison of the Bishop's Castle must have been a knoll of quite considerable height, completely concealing the High Street even from the ramparts of the castle.⁴

The Town Council, however, was by no means occupied entirely with material considerations. In 1825 it subscribed

² Act Parl. 6 George IV, c. 107. *Burgh Records*, 24th Mar., 1829; 26th Sept., 1832; 16th Oct., 1833.

³ *Ibid.* 25th July, 1823; 31st Aug., 1824.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 423.

a hundred guineas for the memorial to James Watt by Chantrey, which now stands in George Square.⁵ In 1826 it supported an application to the House of Commons for an allowance to the somewhat luckless Henry Bell, projector of steam navigation on the Clyde.⁶ Bell's successive "Comets" had both been wrecked, the first in the tide-race off the Dorus Mohr, outside Crinan, in 1820, and the second by a collision off Gourock, with a loss of seventy lives, in October, 1825.⁷

Further, in 1827 the Town Council was induced to countenance, with qualified ardour, the erection of another monument, that of the redoubtable John Knox. As long previously as the year 1650 the Merchants House had acquired from Stewart of Minto some five acres of the Wester Craigs, the height afterwards known as the Fir Park, on the east side of the Molen-dinar, opposite the Cathedral. This it had laid out as a pleasure-ground for its members, when a group of enthusiasts, led by the Rev. Stevenson M'Gill, D.D., Professor of Theology in Glasgow University, set afoot a proposal to erect a statue to the Reformer. In 1824 Dr. M'Gill secured permission from the Merchants House to erect the monument on the Fir Park, and he himself laid the foundation stone in the following year. When all expenses were paid, the Town Council agreed to hold the balance of subscriptions, some £71, for future upkeep, "under this express declaration, that the Corporation shall not, by doing so, be held to have become in any shape responsible for the expense of repairing and maintaining the said monument, beyond the sum so deposited."⁸ It was not till 1829 that, on the suggestion of James Ewing, afterwards Lord Provost and M.P., the Merchants House agreed to convert the Fir Park

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 11th Jan., 1825.

⁶ *Ibid.* 25th Oct., 28th Dec., 1826.

⁷ Williamson, *Clyde Passenger Steamers*, pp. 12 and 45.

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 16th Oct., 1827. *The Merchants House of Glasgow*, pp. 44 and 330.

into a burying ground, and the first burials in the new Necropolis took place in 1833.⁹ Meantime it is curious to note that, if tradition is to be believed, the monument to John Knox stands on the spot on which the rites of the sun-worshippers of pre-Christian times were performed.

Not least important of the civic transactions of those years were its acts in the arena of education. In 1824 the magistrates and council granted a seal of cause to the Mechanics Institution.¹⁰ That seal of cause gave the imprimatur to a movement which had far-reaching beneficent results. The Mechanics Institution had originally been the Mechanics Class formed in Anderson's University by the celebrated Dr. George Birkbeck while Professor of Natural Philosophy there. In 1823 it hived off from the parent college, and opened proceedings in the upper part of a disused chapel in Shuttle Street, on 8th November, three days before the formation of the London Mechanics Institution was decided upon. It was the first of all Mechanics Institutions, and continued to flourish and increase in usefulness till 1886, when, under the Educational Endowments Act, along with Anderson's College and other institutions, it was formed into the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College, the first of all technical colleges.¹¹

In those same years the fortunes of the ancient Grammar School reached something like a crisis. So far, as its name implied, the school had been devoted only to the branches of knowledge necessary for students entering the University. But with the change of times, and the opening of lucrative careers in industry and commerce, this purpose had become less important, and the numbers attending the classes at the Grammar School had seriously diminished. The masters in the school itself were invited to give an opinion, and they

⁹ *The Merchants House*, p. 347 ; *Burgh Records*, 14th May, 1833.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 23rd Mar., 22nd June, 1824.

¹¹ Humboldt Sexton, *The First Technical College*, p. 69.

urged that the school should be equipped to furnish a complete English education, with arithmetic, mathematics, modern languages, geography, and drawing, suitable for the requirements of a large commercial city. By way of experiment in this direction the Town Council added the teaching of arithmetic, writing, and mathematics.¹

The Town Council at the same time took the opportunity of putting an end to an ancient custom of the school which was open to many objections. It had always been the habit for the scholars, on Candlemas Day, to bring offerings to the masters. This had long been felt to be degrading to the masters, a temptation to the boys, and invidious to the parents. The custom had been abolished elsewhere, but retained in the Grammar School probably from reluctance to break with an ancient tradition. It was now, however, ordered to be discontinued and the loss made up by a quarterly payment of 19s. to the rector and 13s. 6d. to each of the other masters.²

The demand for Latin and Greek, however, continued to decline, and four years later the city fathers found it advisable to reduce the staff. Once again, after fifteen years of trial, the office of rector was abolished, and each of the four masters was directed to take his pupils through the whole four years of their course, the plan followed by the ancient "regents" at the University.³ Four years later, in 1834, the system of the school was entirely remodelled, and the name was changed to High School,⁴ but the rectorship was only restored half a century later still, when the school was removed once more, to Elmbank Street, a mile west of its third site, in John Street.

As a matter of fact, by 1830 the Grammar School no longer enjoyed a monopoly, but found itself competing for pupils with many other schools in the city. There were the private

¹ *Burgh Records*, 4th Feb., 1825; 9th Nov., 1826.

² *Ibid.* 10th Jan., 14th Feb., 1826.

³ *Ibid.* 2nd Sept., 1830.

⁴ Cleland's *Historical Account of the School* (1878), pp. 58, 59.

"English" schools, which no longer, as in the seventeenth century, required a licence from the Town Council, and which supplied education in the subjects needed for the commercial and industrial life of the time. There were also the parish schools which owed their start to the enthusiasm of Dr. Chalmers.⁵ Hutcheson's School, founded in 1641, had grown immensely in resources through the development of its lands on the south side of the river. And between 1823 and 1831 no fewer than four handsome legacies for educational purposes were intimated to the Town Council. First came a sum of £8972 4s. bequeathed by a Calcutta merchant, John M'Lachlan, for the establishment of a free school for poor Highland children.⁶ Next, the widow of James Maxwell, a merchant of Lisbon, who died suddenly in Glasgow, fulfilled her husband's dying wish by "mortifying" a sum of £2000 in the hands of the City Chamberlain to endow a school for poor children in the city.⁷ Again, James Murdoch, a Glasgow merchant, bequeathed £5000 to maintain a school for boys, for the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic.⁸ Most notable of all was the great legacy of Dr. Andrew Bell. A native of St. Andrews who had been a tutor in Virginia, an army chaplain in India, superintendent of an orphan asylum in Madras, rector of Swanage, and prebendary of Westminster, Dr. Bell, before his death in 1832, directed £120,000 of bank stock to be divided between five towns, of which Glasgow was one, for the promotion of education upon the Madras or Lancastrian System, which he had originated.⁹ Glasgow's share of the bequest was £9007 os. 10d., and, as it was found that the system, which was

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 23rd Aug., 1833.

⁶ *Ibid.* 4th Feb., 1823. Notes on Mortifications, printed for the Magistrates, 1878, p. 29.

⁷ *Ibid.* 28th June, 12th Aug., 30th Aug., 1825.

⁸ *Ibid.* 28th Dec., 1826.

⁹ Notes on Mortifications (1878), pp. 51-61. *Burgh Records*, 21st June, 18th Aug., 18th Nov., 1831.

built upon mutual instruction and moral discipline, could be fitted into that of the parochial schools of the city, the annual interest of the bequest, along with that of Murdoch's legacy, was turned to the support of these seminaries.¹⁰ The name of Dr. Bell's system has not been perpetuated in Glasgow, but the Madras College remains one of the best-known institutions of the generous educationist's native town, St. Andrews.

A more unusual bequest, still of an educational kind, was that of £100 from an Edinburgh lady, Mrs. Gibson, niece of the celebrated Dr. Hugh Blair, for the preaching of an annual sermon against cruelty to animals by a popular minister of the Church of Scotland. The sermon is still preached in the month of March each year.¹

Partly educational and partly philanthropic, again, was another gift, the first of its kind received by Glasgow. In 1829, Mr. James Yates, of Woodville, in Devon, a native of Glasgow, gave the island of Shuna, off the West Coast of Scotland, to the city, the University, the Royal Infirmary, and Anderson's College. To start with, the experience of the Town Council in connection with this gift was inauspicious, for the heir at law brought an action to reduce the settlement; and after holding it for a hundred years, at a frequently falling rental, the legatees were glad to sell the island in 1911.² In view of that and later experiences it is apparent that sheep farming in the Highlands or islands is not the sort of enterprise to be successfully attempted by the Town Council of Glasgow. It is true that, a few years before receiving the gift of Shuna, the magistrates had contributed fifty pounds towards the expense of the cattle show held by the Highland Society in the city, and had conferred the freedom of Glasgow on Lord Tweeddale, president of the Society, who had taken a leading part in the enterprise.³

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 23rd Aug., 12th Sept., 1833.

¹ *Ibid.* 8th Mar., 1828.

² *Ibid.* 2nd Feb., 1831.

³ *Ibid.* 14th Sept., 9th Nov., 1826.

But the interest of the magistrates arose less from the desire to encourage agriculture than from the wish to bring to the city possible purchasers of its merchants' wares. Their purpose appears to have been fulfilled, for the city renewed its support for the Highland Show held in Glasgow two years later.⁴

The city itself, nevertheless, was now more and more rapidly extending into the country, and westward of St. Enoch's Burn, the line of the present West Nile Street, a good deal of house building had been done. With a view to enjoying the advantages of street paving, lighting, and police equally with the fashionable Charlotte Street and Monteith Row, the inhabitants of that region, the Blythswood estate, petitioned to be annexed to the city. Naïvely enough, while they desired to enjoy all the advantages of citizens, they expressed the wish to be exempted from the common burdens—assessment for the poor and for statute labour, as well as from the burgh customs and the exclusive privileges of the incorporated trades. By that time the superior had given up the idea of having Blythswood erected into a barony; the demand of the petitioners for exemption from public burdens was met by compromise, and the Town Council procured an Act of Parliament annexing these lands to the royalty.⁵

This was the third enlargement of the royalty, the first having been the addition of the Tenandry of Rottenrow by James VI in 1613, and the second the inclusion of Ramshorn and Meadowflat in 1800. During the next hundred years it was followed by ever larger and larger additions.

At that time the ancient "land meithing," or perambulation of the marches of the royalty, which had been abolished as a popular function, was still performed by a committee of the magistrates, deacons of crafts, and officials, and at the

⁴ *Burgh Records*. A grant has been given for subsequent shows.

⁵ *Ibid.* 28th Dec., 1827; 5th Nov., 11th Nov., 1828; 30th Sept., 1829; 13th Feb., 1830. Act 2 George IV, c. 42.

next occurrence of the ceremony directions were given for the erection of iron plates to mark the extended boundaries.⁶

The heritors and inhabitants of the Blythswood lands were not without reason in desiring to be exempted from at least one of the burdens of the older royalty. The maintenance of the city's poor cost £9565 in 1826 and £9479 in 1832, and in the latter year it was found necessary to appoint an official to devote his whole time to the work of collecting the money.⁷ The burden in the Barony, in which the Blythswood lands had previously been included, was much lighter, and for some years a quarrel went on with the Barony heritors regarding the actual sum to be levied in Blythswood and handed to them as compensation.⁸

Another growing expense also was the cost of maintaining the city churches. In 1829 the ministers of all these churches, except the Rev. Duncan Macfarlane, D.D., of the "Inner High," who was also Principal of the University, petitioned for a further increase of stipends.⁹

In some alarm regarding these growing expenses and the fact that the expenditure of the city exceeded its revenue, the Town Council ordered a careful statement to be prepared, detailing the value of all its possessions. That statement may be summarized as follows :

Lands, - - - - -	-	£153,893	9	0
Houses, quarries, salmon fishery, burial-grounds -	-	13,164	0	0
Shares in canal, water, gas, building companies and various debtors - - - - -	-	77,842	17	6
		<hr/>		
		£244,900	6	6
<i>Less</i> bonds, bills, sums mortified, doubtful debts, and obligations for roads - - - - -	-	117,203	10	10
		<hr/>		
Leaving net free stock at 29th Sept., 1829 -	-	£127,696	15	8

⁶ *Ibid.* 14th June, 1831.

⁷ *Ibid.* 28th Dec., 1826 ; 30th Nov., 1832.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 28th June, 12th Sept., 4th Dec., 1833.

⁹ *Ibid.* 9th Nov., 1827.

The town also derived revenue from :

Markets and market dues	-	-	-	-	-	£1,200	7	0
Glasgow Green and wash-house	-	-	-	-	-	529	4	5
Ladle dues and multures	-	-	-	-	-	1,914	0	0
Burgess entries and freedom fines	-	-	-	-	-	277	6	1
Impost on ale and beer	-	-	-	-	-	890	9	4
							<u>£4,811</u>	<u>6 10</u>

There was property, further, from which no revenue was derived :

Justiciary buildings	-	-	-	-	-	£40,000	0	0
Cells in Bridewell	-	-	-	-	-	2,700	0	0
Grammar School	-	-	-	-	-	5,000	0	0
Town Hall	-	-	-	-	-	2,000	0	0
Court-house in Gorbals	-	-	-	-	-	1,000	0	0
							<u>£50,700</u>	<u>0 0</u>

Against this the Town Council was liable for guarantees not likely to be called upon, for :

The Trustees of the Clyde and harbour	-	-	-	-	-	£16,952	7	3
The Trustees of Port-Glasgow harbour	-	-	-	-	-	4,000	0	0
The Trustees of the Glasgow to Renfrew road	-	-	-	-	-	4,350	0	0
The Trustees of the Glasgow to Carlisle road	-	-	-	-	-	5,000	0	0
The Trustees of the Renfrew to Greenock road and Inchinnan bridge	-	-	-	-	-	22,327	0	0
							<u>£52,629</u>	<u>7 3</u>

It was pointed out that in the year 1829, by the sale of superiorities and feuing of land, the revenue of the city had been increased to exceed the expenditure, but, on considering the financial statement, the Council felt that it was not warranted in adding a substantial sum to the burdens already carried, and accordingly, instead of increasing the stipends of the nine city ministers by £50, as had been proposed, it granted an increase of £25 only.

The crisis was one of those with which the Town Council has been faced from time to time in its long history, when increasing expense has threatened disaster, and the city fathers very wisely met the emergency by resolving to "cut their coat according to their cloth."¹⁰

It was while the Town Council was engaged with this problem, and the assessment for the support of the poor was threatening to become a serious burden, that the first suggestion was made of a new basis for the levying of the rates. Hitherto these had been levied according to the means and substance of the citizen—in other words, upon income or ability to pay. It was the method appointed by an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1579 (c. 74) and by a proclamation of the Privy Council on 29th August, 1693. But this method was found to be invidious, inquisitorial, and difficult. Already the Barony parish had adopted the plan of levying the rates upon rental, and a committee of the Council recommended this simpler method as preferable. A thousand copies of the committee's report were therefore printed and distributed among the citizens, and, apparently with popular approval, the Council resolved to seek the authority of Parliament for making the change.¹

But even then the whole structure of society was in the melting-pot, and parliamentary reform and burgh reform were about to inaugurate the great experiment of democratic government, under which many amazing changes were to take place.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 4th, 23rd, and 26th March, 1830.

¹ *Ibid.* 30th Sept., 1829; 26th Feb., 4th March, 1830.

CHAPTER LII

REFORM

MANY circumstances contributed to bring about the passing of the Reform Acts of 1832 and 1833. Chief of these was the tremendous development of industry and commerce in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth. That development had brought into existence great new populations with interests which they thought were not sufficiently attended to by the old parliamentary machine. Again and again, during the Napoleonic war, they petitioned for the closing of the distilleries, which used large quantities of grain, and so raised its price against the inhabitants of the towns.¹ Again and again, also, they petitioned against the "Corn Laws," which levied a tax upon imported grain so long as it remained below a certain price.² In neither case had they been successful, and they attributed their want of success to the fact that Parliament was mostly elected by the great landowners, whose interest lay in keeping up the price of grain. This was only one of the grievances under which the industrial and trading communities chafed, and which they thought might be removed if they had a voice in electing their law-makers. From that attitude of mind it was an easy step to believing that, if they had the right of voting for the election of members of Parliament, they could bring about many other improvements in the conditions of their lives which at present were denied them. There are few men who do not imagine that, if they

¹ *Burgh Records*, 17th Oct., 1811.

² *Ibid.* 21st Nov., 1826.

had the power of law-making, they could very shortly make the world "a place fit for heroes to live in."

But the demand for change received its effective stimulus from the hardships of the war-time and the great debacle in industry which followed our victory at Waterloo. In Glasgow in particular the trouble was by no means ended by the suppression of the "Radical Rising" of 1820, already described. Winter after winter saw unemployment, distress, and discontent in the city. In 1826—the "year of the short corn," when the grain in the fields could not be cut, but was pulled by hand with the roots—the Lord Provost was obliged to call a public meeting to raise a subscription for the relief of the unemployed weavers and other operatives. To the fund then raised, King George IV himself contributed a thousand pounds, while a committee in London, raising subscriptions for a general fund, allotted another thousand. It was to afford relief at that time also that the proposal to form a carriage road round Glasgow Green was revived, the public and the London committee each subscribing £600 and the Corporation £400 towards the work.³

On the head of these troubles, and partly, no doubt, by reason of the lowered vitality of the starving people, an outbreak of typhus and cholera took place, and so serious were the ravages of the latter that the Town Council was compelled to purchase special ground for the burial of its victims.⁴

Against conditions like these the soul of a people rises in ferment, and threatens to overwhelm the established order of things. In Glasgow, as in other industrial centres, the belief grew stronger that the trouble could be cured by political means. The city, it was declared, should have its own representation in Parliament, instead of sharing a member with

³ *Burgh Records*, 15th and 23rd May, 1826.

⁴ *Ibid.* 16th Dec., 1831; 7th Aug., 1832.

Renfrew, Rutherglen, and Dunbarton ; and the choice of that representative should be made directly by the citizens, and not by the nomination of the Town Council .

Just then two events occurred which gave an impetus to the movement. One was the revolution in France, which drove Charles X from the throne, and replaced him with his cousin, Louis Phillipe, as a constitutional monarch. The other was the death of George IV, with the accession of his brother, William IV. The new King was favourable to reform, and the new French revolution flooded Britain with a glowing enthusiasm for the acquisition of political rights. These events occurred in the summer of 1830.

As the movement grew, and it became common knowledge that there were actually boroughs in England in which a member of Parliament was returned by a single voter, a sense of injustice spread through the community, and the demand for " Reform " became insistent and even threatening. The refusal of the Duke of Wellington, then Prime Minister, to transfer members from the " rotten " and corrupt boroughs of East Retford and Old Sarum to the rising cities of Manchester and Birmingham, which were entirely unrepresented in the House of Commons, brought about the fall of his Government, and its replacement by the Whig Government of Earl Grey. Glasgow then entered the lists and added its weight to the popular demand. In December the Town Council sent a petition to both Houses of Parliament urging both parliamentary and burgh reform.⁵

On 1st March in the following year Lord John Russell introduced the famous Reform Bill in the House of Commons. That Bill proposed to take away the right of returning members from fifty-six decayed boroughs, and to give the seats thus made available to counties and large towns hitherto unrepresented. It gave the vote to householders paying £10 rent in

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 3rd Dec., 1830.



A POLICEMAN : OLD GLASGOW COSTUME.

towns or £50 in the country. In the new distribution of seats, two members were allotted to Glasgow.

Throughout the country feeling ran high and strong regarding the Bill, and in the Houses of Parliament the battle was bitter and fierce. The preliminary debate on the motion for leave to introduce the Bill was carried on with vehemence for seven nights. While this was taking place a public meeting was called in Glasgow by the senior bailie, in the absence of the Lord Provost, and spirited speeches in favour of the Bill were made by some of the most prominent citizens, while petitions were sent to both Houses of Parliament, and an address, which was signed by nearly 30,000 persons in a few hours, was sent to the King.⁶ This was followed by petitions to Parliament and an address to the King from the Town Council itself,⁷ and petitions from the Merchants House, the Faculty of Procurators, and all the incorporated trades.

At four o'clock in the morning of 22nd March the second reading of the Bill was passed in the House of Commons by a majority of one. In Glasgow the issue was awaited with great excitement. A party of prominent citizens met the mail at Hamilton, and when they galloped to the cross waving their hats and shouting the news, they were met by a cheering crowd, the bells of the city were ordered to be rung, and the Town Council directed a general illumination to be made.⁸

The Reform Bill, however, was not yet passed. A month later, on 19th April, it was thrown out in committee, and three days later, at the request of Earl Grey, the King dissolved Parliament. The dissolution was the signal for an outbreak of hooliganism in London, in which the dwellings of opponents of the measure were attacked, and all the windows of Apsley House, the residence of the Duke of Wellington, were smashed.

⁶ Peter Mackenzie, *Reminiscences*, p. 234.

⁷ *Burgh Records*, 18th March, 1831.

⁸ Mackenzie's *Reminiscences*, p. 244.

In Scotland the demonstrations of the reformers were hardly less violent.

In the new House of Commons, when the measure was introduced again on 4th July, it passed the second reading by 367 votes against 231; but its fate still hung in the balance. The Bill was still dragging its way through the committee stage when the coronation of King William and Queen Adelaide took place on 8th September. This event was made the occasion for another great demonstration, in which a vast crowd, with bands and banners, marched to Glasgow Green cheering and acclaiming "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill."⁹ A few days later the Town Council sent another memorial to the House of Commons and the House of Lords urging the passing of the measure on the ground that it would "by uniting all classes of the community in support of the great interests of the nation, tend effectually to secure the stability of the constitution, and to promote the prosperity and happiness of the British empire."¹⁰

Yet another address was sent to the King when the Bill was thrown out on 8th October by the House of Lords.¹

From end to end the country was by that time awakened by the cry of "Reform." Political Unions, which had been organized for the purpose, actively stirred up the popular fervour, and in the industrial centres there were threats of revolution if the measure were not passed into law. In Glasgow Peter Mackenzie, secretary of the local Political

⁹ Mackenzie's *Reminiscences*, p. 256. A notable demonstration of this time was the procession of the Crafts of Glasgow. It included, perhaps for the last time, the mediaeval pageant of "King Crispin," got up by the Cordiners, in which King Crispin himself appeared, splendidly arrayed in royal robes, accompanied with banners and masques and music, in very gorgeous style.—MacGeorge, *Old Glasgow*, p. 266. St. Crispin was closely associated with Glasgow. The Feast of St. Crispin (25th October) was the statutory day on which the University met in the chapter-house of the cathedral before the Reformation, to elect a Rector and other officials.—Cosmo Innes, *Sketches*, 223; Coutts, *Hist. University*, p. 13.

¹⁰ *Burgh Records*, 22nd Sept., 1831.

¹ *Ibid.* 18th Oct., 1831.

Union, did his utmost to keep public feeling up to the explosive point, and the *Loyal Reformers' Gazette*, which he launched and carried on in the interest of the movement, was one of the typical fulminators of the hour. The character of its editor, and much of the spirit of the Reform Party of the day, are reflected in the garrulous pages of Mackenzie's *Reminiscences*.

To give time for reflection, Parliament was prorogued on 25th October, 1831. In the interval the demonstrations became more and more serious. Alarming riots took place in Bristol and other towns, and Glasgow was threatened with a similar outbreak. When Parliament met again on 6th December, the Reform Bill was again introduced, and passed in the House of Commons with large majorities, and in the House of Lords the second reading was passed with a majority of nine.

When the Lords, however, came to consider it in committee, the measure was rejected by a majority of thirty-five. The public furore then reached still greater heights, and when it was rumoured that the King had refused the unsportsmanlike demand that he should create enough new peers to overturn the decision of the House, and that Earl Grey's Government had resigned, the clamour became prodigious.²

A gathering of 70,000 persons assembled on Glasgow Green, and an address was sent to the King, beseeching him to recall Earl Grey, and to take measures for the passing of the Reform Bill as it stood. Glasgow, to its credit, did not go so far as London, where an abusive gutter press incited the mob to the

² An example of the declamation which flooded the country may be found in Peter Mackenzie's appeal published in the *Loyal Reformers' Gazette*: "Reformers of Glasgow!—The Tories, the Anti-Reformers, may regain the ascendancy for a short-lived moment; but the brilliant star of Freedom can never be obscured by them. No, never! But if all should fail—if Anarchy should even overthrow us, we shall not despair. Yea, though society should be dissolved into its elements, and moral chaos overspread the land, we still believe that God-like Liberty, surmounting all, will change discord into order, divide light from darkness, bid man's free form arise once more erect, and cause a renovated world to spring from the confusion."—*Loyal Reformers' Gazette*, 12th May, 1832. *Reminiscences*, p. 339.

worst extremes of violence, and an attempt on the King's life was made at Ascot races³; but the situation was certainly precarious.

In the upshot the King, though hardly at the recommendation of Peter Mackenzie and his friends, as that worthy does not hesitate to suggest, invited Earl Grey to retain office, and make certain alterations in the Bill to meet some of the objections urged against it. This was done, and the new Bill, introduced to the House of Lords, was read a third time and finally passed on 4th June, 1832.

By the new Act Glasgow became entitled to send two members to the House of Commons, and seven thousand and twenty-four persons became entitled to vote for their election. The first election for the new House of Commons took place in December, 1832, and the "hustings," or platform for candidates, was erected in front of the Justiciary Buildings facing the Green. On the 17th the election writ was read, and nominations were received by the Sheriff before a crowd of some 20,000 persons. There were six candidates; voting took place on the 18th and 19th, and the members elected were the Lord Provost, James Ewing, and James Oswald of Shieldhall.⁴ To keep the peace on the occasion a force of special constables was enrolled, and the total expense to the authorities, was £753 7s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.⁵ What the cost may have been to the candidates there is no means of knowing, but it was probably enormous, for the "free and independent voter" was largely influenced by material considerations.

Thus the new era of popular government was inaugurated in this country. It removed many anomalies and abuses, but it was not without its weaknesses and drawbacks. Perhaps its chief merit lies in the fact that if the Government makes mistakes the people have no one to blame but themselves for

³ *Burgh Records*, 3rd May, 1832. ⁴ Mackenzie, *Reminiscences*, pp. 345-349.

⁵ *Burgh Records*, 12th Feb., 1833.



A. S. Dalglish.

Sir James Campbell.

Bailie Alston.

James Oswald.

A GROUP OF GLASGOW MEN.

having placed the power in its hands. On the other side, it is open to question whether the last word of wisdom really lies with the less tutored and less disciplined multitude.

No sooner had the Act for Parliamentary Reform received the King's signature than the Government began active preparations for a measure of reform in the government of royal burghs. The first taste of the new measure in Glasgow and the other Scottish burghs was not a little ominous. It was a request from the Government for a detailed statement of the burgh accounts for the last five years, and of minute particulars of transactions and statistics in scores of other arenas, going back in some cases as far as twenty years. The city fathers were greatly startled by the demand, which meant not only a vast deal of trouble, but also very considerable expense. It was an experience to be repeated on countless occasions later, when parliamentary action was concerned. To meet the expense an attempt was made to procure a subsidy from the Government, a device which also has been resorted to in instances without number.⁶ This request, however, was refused. The returns were duly made, and on them and the returns from the other Scottish royal burghs, elaborate reports were drawn up and presented to Parliament in 1835.⁷

The Town Council itself drew up a series of suggestions for the new constitution of the burgh. It proposed to increase the number of councillors to forty, each serving for five years, so that the city should benefit by their experience in management. No one was to be eligible unless he was a burgess and occupied a house of £30 rental. Of the eight members elected annually one was to be the Dean of Guild, elected by the Merchants House, and another the Deacon Convener, chosen by the Trades House. The other six were to be elected by burgesses

⁶ *Burgh Records*, 7th Aug., 1832.

⁷ *Ibid.* 26th Sept., 1832. General Report, p. 7. Local Reports, Part II. pp. 1-53.

assessed at the same rental as for the parliamentary vote. The Lord Provost and six bailies, as well as the River Bailie and the bailie of Gorbals, were to be elected annually by the Town Council. The Lord Provost and two bailies might be re-elected for a second year.⁸

Glasgow, as the largest Scottish burgh to be affected by the proposed new measure, urged that it should have a separate Bill of its own; but the suggestion was rejected by the Lord Advocate, Francis Jeffrey, who was in charge of the Bill.⁹ Before the House of Lords, again, a strong effort was made to confine the vote to burgesses, who, it was said, were the sole owners of the city's property; but this was opposed by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Brougham, who, however, allowed the burgess interest to be directly represented in the Town Council by the Dean of Guild of the Merchants House, and the Deacon Convener of the Trades.¹⁰ Upon this footing the Royal Burgh Reform Act was duly passed into law.¹ By that Act the old system of a close corporation appointing its own successors was abolished, and the system of popular election, which had been abandoned because of its abuses in the days of James II,² the middle of the fifteenth century, was restored. Under the Act the city was divided into five wards, each electing six councillors in the first year, and replacing two in each year afterwards, while the Dean of Guild and the Deacon Convener became members *ex officio*.³ The first election took place on 5th November, 1833, and the new Town Council held its first meeting on 8th November, choosing Robert Graham of Whitehill to be Lord Provost.

Thus passed the old regime, with its drawbacks and its advantages. The new regime was begun by its supporters with the highest hopes.

⁸ *Burgh Records*, 23rd Feb. 1832.

⁹ *Ibid.* 11th June, 1833.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 27th Sept., 1833. ¹ 3 and 4 William IV, c. lxxvi. ² See *supra*, p. 78.

³ *London Gazette*, 18th Oct., 1833. *Burgh Records*, 23rd Oct., 1833.

Meanwhile certain factors of quite other kind were at work which, far more than the mere possession or exercise of the franchise, were to wipe out finally the disastrous effects of the Napoleonic war, and bring prosperity, comfort, and happiness to vast numbers of people. To the east and south of Glasgow the great furnaces of the Dunlops, the Dixons, the Bairds, and other ironmasters were, on a gigantic and growing scale, turning to the service of man the riches of coal and iron existing in the region. In 1828 James Beaumont Neilson, foreman and manager of the Glasgow Gasworks, by his device of smelting the ore with a hot-air blast instead of a cold one, trebled the output of these furnaces with the same amount of fuel. The genius of David Napier and the business ability of his cousin Robert were starting the real shipbuilding industry on the Clyde, which, first in wood and afterwards in iron, was to become the greatest in the world. Railway after railway was planned and built, till the enterprise threatened to become a mania, like the Darien Scheme or the South Sea Bubble.⁴ Foreign trade at the same time was increasing. The revenue of the Clyde Trustees, which had been £6328 in 1820, was £20,296 in 1830, and Glasgow itself in the latter year owned 39,432 tons of shipping, more than twice as much as it had owned ten years before. In those ten years also the population of the city had increased by more than 55,000, from 147,043 in 1821 to 202,426 in 1831. Glasgow was in fact, in 1833, a great workshop, fully engined, manned, and equipped, getting into its stride for the hundred years of usefulness which we recognize as the Modern Age, the most wonderful in the story of the world.

⁴ The craze was probably stopped short of a disastrous issue by Professor Aytoun's amusing satire, "The Glenmutchkin Railway," which appeared timeously in *Blackwood's Magazine*.

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